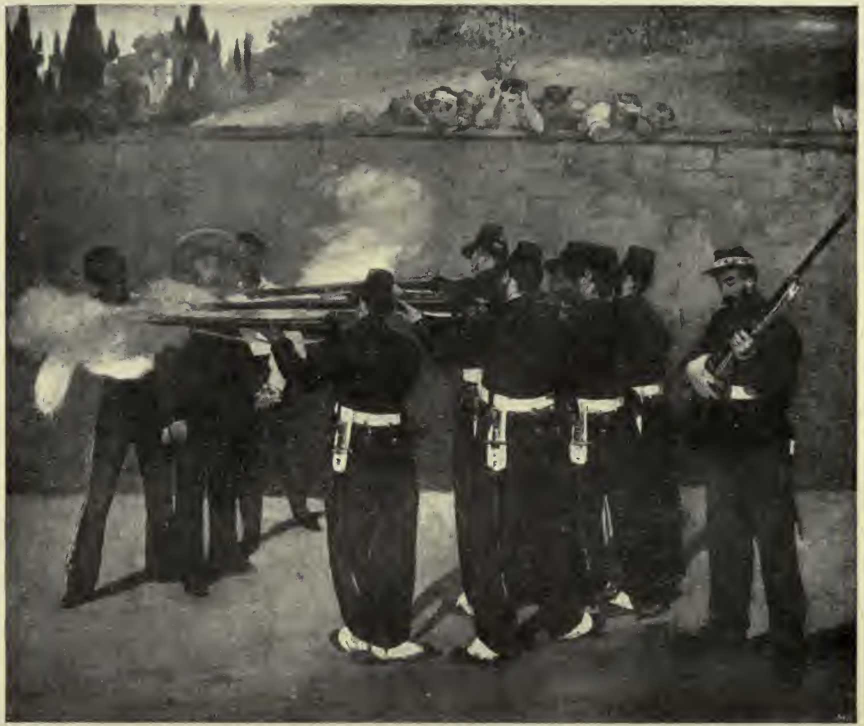
3 1761 03561 7125

MAXIMILIANO I EMPERADOR DE MEXICO

MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/maximilianinmexi00martuoft



EDOUARD MANET

EXECUTION OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND GENERALS MÉJÌA
AND MIRAMÓN

(By kind permission of the Authorities of the Kunsthalle, Mannheim)

H Mex.B
M4645
.Ym

MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO

THE STORY OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION

(1861-1867)

BY

PERCY F. MARTIN, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF
'THROUGH FIVE REPUBLICS OF SOUTH AMERICA,' 'MEXICO'S
TREASURE-HOUSE,' 'MEXICO OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,'
'PERU OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,' 'SALVADOR OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY,' 'GREECE OF THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY,' ETC. ETC. ETC.

132661
13/5/14

LONDON
CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LTD
1914

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I

Birth of Maximilian—Parentage—Schönbrunn—Condition of Europe in 1832—Education—Friendship with Prince Albert—The brothers—Disposition of Francis Joseph—The Archduchess Sophia—Early travels abroad—Meeting with Princess Charlotte of Belgium—Their marriage—Their home at Miramar—A picturesque castle—Maximilian's favourite room 21

CHAPTER II

Princess Charlotte—Birth and parentage—King Leopold I. of Belgium—His death—Queen Louise-Marie of Bourbon—Charlotte's early training—Great powers of judgment—Meeting with Maximilian—Their married life—Charlotte's disposition—Correspondent, conversationalist, and critic—Imperial ambitions—Her linguistic capabilities—Her great industry and application . 35

CHAPTER III

Napoleon III.—His birth and early life—Queen Hortense—Napoleon's lofty ideals—His public services—The Duc de Morny—The Jecker affair—Napoleon's responsibility—Beginning of the French intervention—De Morny's career—Association with Napoleon—Unsavoury reputation—M. Dubois de Saligny—Napoleon determines upon Mexican expedition—His professed and real object—Evidence of selfish motives . . . 44

CHAPTER IV

The ex-Empress Eugénie—Her birth and parentage—Her share in the Mexican expedition—Activity in organising arrangements—Sir Edward Blount's testimony—Heartlessness of conduct towards Maximilian and Charlotte—Unfriendly relations between herself and Napoleon—Her political ambitions 58

CHAPTER V

Spanish ambition in Mexico—Lord John Russell's opinions—Convention of London—Conflicting views of the Allies—Attitude of the United States—Mr. Seward's despatches—Minister Thomas

PAGE

Corwin—French pretensions denounced—M. Dubois de Saligny—Relations between Great Britain and the United States—M. Thouvenel's policy—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière's instructions—Arrival of allied forces in Mexico—First proclamation—General Prim (Count Reuss) 66

CHAPTER VI

Attitude of the Allies—The troops move inland—French unpreparedness—General Zaragoza negotiates—Disunion among the three Commanders—General Miramón arrested—Failure of conference—Meeting with Doblado—Convention of La Soledad—General Almonte—The British and Spanish Commanders withdraw—General Prim's policy—Lord John Russell's instructions—French proclamation—President Benito Juarez issues a counter manifesto—Warning by the United States—War begins . . 80

CHAPTER VII

The rival armies—Landing of the French expedition—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière—General Forey replaces the Admiral—Rival forces engaged—Spanish contingent—British marines—Mexican army—Imperialist troops—Bazaine's valuable assistance—French niggardliness and lack of funds—The Belgian and Austrian legions—The Liberal troops—Charges of cruelty against Juarez's followers—General Miguel Miramón—His loyalty suspected . 93

CHAPTER VIII

War in earnest—Second French expedition compared with the first—Napoleon's explanatory letter to General Forey—General de Lorencez assumes command—Acultzingo taken—Move on Puebla—Defeat of the French (5th May 1862)—Retirement upon Orizaba—Mexican triumph—Bad advice of Almonte and de Saligny—General Marquez joins the French—Arrival of General Douay—Battle of Barranca Veca (18th May)—Defeat of Mexicans—Difficulties of the French—Defence of Orizaba—Heavy French losses—Napoleon's encouragement of de Lorencez—Public disapproval in France 106

CHAPTER IX

General Forey in supreme command—Improved French arrangements—Death of General Zaragoza—Investment of Puebla (16th March)—General Douay's task—Battle of San Pablo (5th May)—Surrender of Puebla (19th May)—Heavy capture of Mexican prisoners—The Mexican parôle d'honneur—General Porfirio Diaz—March upon Mexico City—Triumphal entry of French troops—Proclamation of the Mexican Empire (10th July)—Recall of General Forey—French losses up to date . . 115

CHAPTER X

General Bazaine—Early career—Services in Algeria and the Crimea—Condition of affairs in Mexico upon his arrival—Opposition of

PAGE

the Church party—Quarrel with Archbishop Labastida—Arrest of General Santa Anna—Juarez's increasing difficulties—General Vidaurri—United States Government assists Liberals—Facilities for importing arms—General Cortiñas and the United States—Secretary Seward's denials refuted—Assurances to French Government 128

CHAPTER XI

Political conditions in Mexico in 1860—Preponderance of ignorant Indians—Ex-President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna—Attempts at empire-building—Approach towards Imperialists repulsed—Overtures to Liberals also declined—Santa Anna flies the country—Landing at Vera Cruz—Arrest on United States vessel—Commander Roe of the *Virginia*—Further arrest at Yucatán—President Benito Juarez and the United States—Representations to Napoleon—Extreme nervousness at Paris—Hostility towards Maximilian 141

CHAPTER XII

Maximilian accepts the Crown of Mexico—His conditions—Historic document confirming agreement—Reception of the Mexican deputation—The delegates—Imposing ceremonial—Regents' address read—Maximilian is fascinated—Is proclaimed 'Emperor of Mexico'—Charlotte shares his enthusiasm—They take the oath of allegiance—Francis Joseph visits his brother at Miramar—Maximilian's first decree—Regency dissolved—Special envoys carry intelligence to Foreign Courts—Deputation returns to Mexico City 151

CHAPTER XIII

The journey to Mexico—Departure from Miramar—Affecting leave-taking—Visit to Royal Family at Naples—Reception by the Pope—Call at Gibraltar—Reception by General Codrington—Stay at Jamaica—First impressions of Mexico—Cool reception—Almonte's initial blunder—Journey to Orizaba, Cordoba, and Mexico City—Enthusiasm in the capital—Visit to the Cathedral—Generals Bazaine and Negrete take part—Colonel Miguel Lopez presents himself—Visit to the provinces—Triumphal progress—Return to the capital 159

CHAPTER XIV

Maximilian's Court—The Imperial Palace—Noble orders established—Court ceremonies and functions—Dinner invitations—The Imperial household—Banquet to Marshal Bazaine—The ordinary palace-dinner—Empress Charlotte as hostess—Bazaine's difficult position—Maximilian and Charlotte in retirement—The empress's court—Her wardrobe—European customs introduced—Charlotte's charities and occupations—Liberal party opposition—Empress in charge of state affairs—Imperial visit to Yucatán . 170

CHAPTER XV

PAGE

Maximilian's perplexities commence—Initial mistakes of policy—Court appointments—Emperor's poor judgment of character—General Leonardo Marquez — Unfavourable career — Father Augustin Fischer—Bad influences upon Maximilian—Emperor reconstructs his army—Financial problem—First loan issued in France—Pressing demands of Napoleon—Onerous conditions of the Convention of Miramar—Enormous indebtedness contracted—Maximilian resists French demands for cession of Sonora . 186

CHAPTER XVI

Bazaine's operations in the interior (1864)—Seizure of Morélia and Guanajuato—Guadalajara captured—Defeat of Liberals at Matehuala—Abandonment of Tuxpan, Minatítlan and San Juan Bautísta—Arrival of Maximilian and Charlotte—Bazaine's difficulties increase — Mexican treachery — Two years' operations reviewed—Negative progress—Liberal troops becoming more confident—General Castagny—Manzanillo won and abandoned . 199

CHAPTER XVII

French forces in 1865—Relations between Maximilian and Bazaine—Emperor's bitter complaint—The 'Black Decree' (3rd October 1865)—Execution of General Arteaga—Napoleon decides to withdraw from Mexico—Admitted failure of French intervention—Bazaine's pessimism—Abandonment of Chihuahua—Disaster to French troops at Santa Isabel (1st March 1866)—Fall of Matamoras—Monterey evacuated—Saltillo and Durango surrendered 209

CHAPTER XVIII

Financial complications increase—M. Corta's visit to Mexico—M. Rouher confirms misleading statements—French subscriptions to loans—Bad finance—Appointments of M. Friant and General Osmont—Napoleon's anger—Convention of July 1866—Maximilian's ignorance of finance—Condition of treasury—Marshal Bazaine's timely assistance — Desperate position of Imperial ministers—Almonte's mission to France fails—Charlotte offers her services—Visit to Europe decided upon—Lack of necessary funds 221

CHAPTER XIX

Charlotte departs for Europe—Incidents of journey—Strange conduct causes comment and alarm—Reception at Vera Cruz—Scene upon embarking—Ignorance in France respecting Empress's movements—Arrival at Paris—Public excitement—Napoleon's discomfiture—Journey to Saint Cloud—Strong language used—Stormy interview—Charlotte upbraids Napoleon for his betrayal—Coldness of the Empress Eugénie—Napoleon refuses further assistance—Charlotte's despair—Departure from Saint Cloud . 234

CHAPTER XX

PAGE

Charlotte arrives at Rome—The Pope's attentions—Empress receives much public notice—Visit to the Vatican—The public audience—The private reception—The Pope refuses to intervene—Empress's profound dejection—Return to hotel—Further evidence of mental derangement—Second visit to the Vatican—Charlotte loses all control—Distress of the Pope—Removal of afflicted Empress—Count Philippe of Flanders arrives to take charge of his sister—Dismissal of Empress's suite—Departure for Miramar—Sad home-coming—Château de Bouchout 243

CHAPTER XXI

The Church in Mexico—Strained relations with Maximilian—Reasons for Pope's desertion of Imperial cause—Liberal government's confiscation of church property—The Papal Nuncio visits Mexico—Machinations of Archbishop Labastida—Maximilian remains firm—Cardinal Antonelli's threats—Debased condition of Mexican clergy—Further trouble with Bazaine—The Emperor's position becomes untenable—Desertion by foreign legionaries—Maximilian retires in poor health to Orizaba—Imperial towns abandoned to Liberal troops 257

CHAPTER XXII

Porfirio Diaz continues operations in the south—Attack upon Oaxaca—Career of Porfirio Diaz—Felix Diaz—Continuation of siege—Oaxaca surrenders to Bazaine—Porfirio Diaz a prisoner—His escape from custody—Forey denounces Diaz—Cruelty charges justified—Imperial cause lost in hot-country—General Mendez maintains standard—Fresh commands for Generals Méjìa, Miramón and Marquez 275

CHAPTER XXIII

Last days of French occupation—Bazaine counsels abdication—Survey of Imperial position—Dangers indicated—Quarrel between Maximilian and Bazaine—French Commander-in-chief departs without seeing Emperor—Father Fischer's evil influences—Bazaine's services in Mexico—Trying to serve two masters—Maximilian's ingratitude—View of Bazaine's character—Charges of corruption—Strange incident regarding treasure—Bazaine's nephew Adolphe—Departure of last French troops—Bazaine's reception in France—Cost of the French expedition to Mexico . 286

CHAPTER XXIV

Maximilian's reduced forces—Emperor leaves for Queretaro—Places himself at the head of his army—His military incapacity—General Marquez appointed Chief-of-staff—Maximilian's entourage—Dangers of his position—Public reception—Liberals remain unobtrusive—General Mariano Escobedo—Imperial headquarters at La Cruz—The convent—Preparations for defence—Colonel

PAGE

Miguel Lopez—His past career—Maximilian's infatuation—Council of war—Marquez receives instructions 301

CHAPTER XXV

Maximilian's personal staff—Prince Felix zu Salm Salm—Romantic career—His experiences in the United States—His American princess—Efforts to serve Maximilian—Difficulties overcome—His devotion to the end—Colonel von Khevenhüller—Colonel Koderlich—Financial stringency—Privations of the defenders—Attempts to raise funds—Marquez Mission—He leaves Queretaro, promising to return within fourteen days—Fails to bring relief—Meditated treachery—Defeated by Porfirio Diaz—Imperial disaster 312

CHAPTER XXVI

Liberals besiege Queretaro—Continued anxiety concerning Marquez—Count Pototski—Prince zu Salm Salm attempts a sally—Failure of the plan—Miramón's blunders—Maximilian proposes flight—Allows opportunity to pass—Horrors of siege increase—Former plan to escape frustrated by Miramón's stupidity—Miguel Lopez betrays the town to the Liberals—Maximilian is taken prisoner—Miramón wounded—Escobedo's 'word of honour'—Savagery of Liberal troops—Little improvement among Mexicans of to-day 322

CHAPTER XXVII

Maximilian in prison—His custodians—General Rivas Palacios—Brutal treatment by Emperor's gaolers—Removal to Santa Teresìta—Renegade French officers—A 'black list'—Further change in prison quarters—Maximilian's illness increases—Princess Agnes zu Salm Salm—Her romantic career—Meeting with her husband—Arrival in Mexico—First interview with Maximilian—Antagonism of Porfirio Diaz—Journeys to Queretaro and San Luis Potósi—Meeting with Juarez 338

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Trial—Law of 25th January 1862—Personnel of Court—Maximilian refuses to appear in person—Counsel for prosecution and defence—Cases of Charles I. and Jefferson Davis are cited—Attitude of the Judges—Accused's answers to charges—Verdict and Sentence—Pleading for pardon by Princess zu Salm Salm with President Juarez—Painful scene—Juarez's attitude considered—His character and career 348

CHAPTER XXIX

A multitude of counsellors—Blunders of diplomatic representatives—Plans for escape again mooted—Liberal officers' services enlisted—Cowardice of Baron von Lago causes failure of plan—Betrayal to Escobedo—Close watch over prisoners—Baron von Magnus appeals to Juarez—He devotes his time to condemned

PAGE

Emperor—Maximilian prepares for the end—His last correspondence—Despatch to President remains unanswered—Touching farewell to the Empress Charlotte—The Emperor's last hours 368

CHAPTER XXX

Morning of the execution—The Catholic *Fête-Dieu*—Early Mass—Maximilian's last repast—Farewell greetings to Miramón and Méjìa—Procession to the Cerro de la Campaña—Popular emotion—Grief of Father Soria—The faithful Tudos in attendance—Absence of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires—The Emperor's final address—The fatal volley—Miramón's execution—The last moments of Méjìa—Return to the convent—Escobedo and the sorrow of a Mexican woman—Embalming of the Emperor's body—Brutality of the surgeons—Demand for the body of Maximilian refused—A simple memorial—Austrian admiral takes Maximilian home—Laid to rest with the Hapsburgs—Effect of news in Europe—The French court shocked—Responsibilities of Napoleon and Eugénie 378

CHAPTER XXXI

Foreign representatives at the Court of Maximilian—The Prussian Minister, Baron von Magnus—The English Minister, Mr. Scarlett—The Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago—The United States Minister, Mr. Lewis Campbell and his mission—Dilatory procedure—Correspondence with the State department—Despatch of deputy to President Juarez—Lewis Campbell resigns rather than proceed to Mexico City—Marcus Otterbourg succeeds him—The latter's humanitarian services—A too-zealous official soon superseded 395

CHAPTER XXXII

United States policy—William Henry Seward—Reply to the Allied Powers—The Monroe Doctrine—Its origin and claims—North American pretensions—Influence upon foreign nations—Canning's views—Outraging the morals of the Doctrine—Harsh treatment of Mexico in 1846—President Lincoln's attitude—Mr. Dayton and Napoleon's government—Explaining that the Doctrine means nothing in particular—Depreciating the resolution of the House of Representatives—Seward's instructions to United States Minister at Paris—Treatment of Maximilian . . . 413

CHAPTER XXXIII

Friendliness of the United States to Liberal Government—Mutual favours—The case of General Ortega—Delivery into the hands of his enemies—Overtures by Maximilian rejected—Imigration project ignored—Mr. W. H. Seward's opposition to the Empire of Maximilian—The Emperor's special envoy refused an audience—Irritation in France—Lincoln's Presidential Message—President Johnson and Mexican affairs—Seward defines the United

PAGE
States position—The Secretary of State and Mexican prisoners in France—Distrust of Napoleon—Mr. Dayton's successor at Paris—Congress becomes bolder—Napoleon withdraws from Mexico 421

APPENDICES

I. CONVENTION DE LONDRES 436
II. CONVENTION DE LA SOLEDAD 438
[TRANSLATION]
CONVENTION OF LA SOLEDAD 439
III. PROCLAMATION OF REAR-ADMIRAL JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE AND M. DE SALIGNY 441
IV. CONVENTION DE MIRAMAR 442
[TRANSLATION]
CONVENTION CONCLUDED BETWEEN FRANCE AND MEXICO, TO REGULATE THE CONDITIONS OF THE STAY OF THE FRENCH TROOPS IN THIS LAST-NAMED COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING PEACE AND CONSOLIDATING THE NEW EMPIRE 445
V. DECREE OF 3RD OCTOBER 1865 447
VI. GENERAL SANTA ANNA ADVOCATES THE MONARCHY—HE APPROVES OF MAXIMILIAN AS EMPEROR—HE ADDRESSES CONGRATULATIONS TO MAXIMILIAN—SANTA ANNA'S PROCLAMATION 451-54
VII. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRINCE FELIX ZU SALM SALM AND COLONEL MIGUEL LOPEZ 458
BIBLIOGRAPHY 463
INDEX 470

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Execution of the Emperor Maximilian and Generals Méjìa and Miramón . . . . *Frontispiece*

Maximilian: Group of Portraits at Various Ages . . . . To face p. 24

The Castle of Miramar . . . . „ 32

Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico . . „ 40

Group of Maximilian's Family in 1860 (1); The Emperor Francis Joseph and the Archdukes Maximilian, Charles, and Louis (2) . . „ 48

Leopold I., King of the Belgians (1); The Archduchess Sophia of Bavaria (2); Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria (3) . . . . „ 56

The Empress Charlotte at Various Ages . . „ 64

The Empress Charlotte in 1864 (1); upon her Arrival in Mexico (2); in 1866 (3) . . „ 72

The Empress Eugénie at Various Ages . . „ 80

Marie-Charlotte-Amélie-Augustine-Victoire-Clémentine-Léopoldine, Empress of Mexico . „ 86

The Late Queen Louise-Marie . . . „ 94

Napoleon III., Emperor of the French (1); Count Walewski (2); the Duc de Morny (3) . . „ 102

The Late Count Philippe of Flanders . . „ 110

General Juan Almonte . . . . „ 113

General (afterwards Marshal) François Achille Bazaine . . . . . . *To face p.* 128

Señor Don J. M. Gutierrez de Estrada . . „ 136

Señora Maria Barrío de Campéro (1); Señora Rocha de Roblès (2); Señora Dolores de Elguerro (3) . . . . . „ 152

Señora Dolores Peña del Hidalgo y Terán (1); Señora Dolores Quesada d'Almonte (2); Señora de Estrada (3) . . . . . „ 160

Señora Rafaela Muñoz de Peraz (1); Señora Josefa de Salas (2); Señora Rosa Obregon de Uraza (3) . . . . . . „ 168

Señora Concepción Lizardi de Vallez (1); Señora Oseo de Sanotres Navarro (2); Señora Manuella Estrada de Barrío (3) . . . „ 174

Señora Soledad Vivanco de Cervantes (1); Señora Guadaloupe de Moran (2); Señora Luz de Roblès (3) . . . . . . „ 182

Señora Francisca Escandón y Landa (1); Señora Carolina Barron de Escandón (2); Señora Luisa Quejano de Rincón Gallardo (3) . . „ 190

Don S. F. Mora (1); M. Jules Favre (2); Don José Salazar Llarregin (3) . . . „ 198

Monsignor Pelagio Antonio de Labastida y Davalos . . . . . . „ 206

General Tomás Méjìa (1); General Roblès (2); General Leonardo Marquez (3) . . . „ 212

General José Mariano Salas . . . „ 220

Specimen of Maximilian's Caligraphy . . „ 228

The State Coach used by Maximilian and Charlotte „ 236

His Holiness Pope Pius ix. . . . . „ 244

The Château de Bouchout, in Brabant, Belgium . „ 254

'The Black Decree' of October 3, 1865 *Between pp.* 262 and 263

General Miguel Miramón . . . . *To face p.* 272

The Capture of Puebla, on April 2, 1867, by General Porfirio Diaz . . . . „ 282

General Mariano Escobedo . . . . „ 290

The Town of Queretaro as it appeared in 1867 „ 298

The Convent and Chapel of La Cruz, Queretaro, showing Maximilian's Prison . . . „ 306

Interior of Governor's Palace at Queretaro . „ 314

Market-place at Queretaro . . . . „ 322

The Convent of los Capuchinos at Queretaro . „ 338

Maximilian in his Prison at Queretaro receiving his Attorneys . . . . . „ 346

Historical Room in the Museum at Queretaro containing several Maximilian Relics . . „ 354

Princess Agnes zu Salm Salm (1); Prince Felix zu Salm Salm (2) . . . . . „ 360

Maximilian's Departure from his Prison on the Morning of June 19, 1867 . . . „ 366

Adobe Wall, in Front of which the Execution of Maximilian, Miramón, and Méjìa took place (1); Temporary Memorials marking the Place of Execution (2) . . . . . „ 374

The Platoon of Liberal Troops which fired the fatal Volley at Queretaro, June 19, 1867 . „ 382

Another Sketch of the Execution of Maximilian „ 390

Memorial Church erected at Queretaro upon the Site where Maximilian, Miramón, and Méjìa were executed . . . . „ 398

ORIGINAL EXTRACT FROM THE 'NEW YORK HERALD' OF JULY 2, 1867 . . . . . . *To face p.* 406

BENITO PABLO JUAREZ, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO DURING THE MAXIMILIAN RÉGIME . . . . „ 414

TOMB OF PRESIDENT BENITO PABLO JUAREZ . . „ 422

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE DURING THE MAXIMILIAN RÉGIME IN MEXICO . . . . . . „ 430

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, AND OTHER UNITED STATES MINISTERS AT A COUNCIL MEETING . „ 434

INTRODUCTION

'L'histoire n'est que le tableau des crimes et des malheurs.'—VOLTAIRE.

DURING the completed century of Mexico's existence as an independent sovereign power, there has been no sustained period—if one except that of some two decades under Porfirio Diaz, when peace was maintained by the sheer weight of the sword—when it has been possible to say that orderly and established government had prevailed. The triumphs of parties and of personal aggrandisements of individuals mainly marked the progress of its history, one which even among the several turbulent Latin-American States has stood out in bold relief against a lurid background of rebellion, rapine, and revenge.

For the first fifty years of its being the Republic of Mexico exhibited a spectacle full of sorrow to the friends of free institutions throughout the world, and, especially, to the numerous practical sympathisers to be found in England, who had been the first to hold out a helping hand to the young and struggling State, just emerging, crippled but courageous, from four hundred years of oppression under the yoke of Spain. So far from realising the high aspirations which had been formed among their friends abroad, who looked for orderliness, mutual good-will and loyalty among the citizens of the new State enjoying a common cause, one language and one faith to bind them, the country was made the scene of the exploits of a succession of ambitious individuals, who, in search of riches or power for themselves and their numerous partisans, plunged the nation into a sea of furious internecine warfare. Many of the agitators—' patriots ' they were called when successful, 'rebels' when they failed—lost their lives in the successive upheavals, while others either were banished or disappeared.

The aspiring Iturbide was shot as early as 1824, thus following the same fate as that of Morélos in 1815. Bravo and Borragón were banished; while Guerrero met with a similar reward for his soaring ambition in 1831. Santa Anna, one of the worst of Mexico's rulers, was imprisoned and expelled upon more than one occasion, while he also lost a leg, a misfortune which should have served to remind him of the dangers attending revolutions.

Benito Juarez himself knew the meaning of political persecution and imprisonment; he very nearly met with a violent end at the hands of one Captain Filomeno Bravo in 1858. Ruthless acts followed rapidly one upon another, while the distraught country was laid waste as the result of this almost perpetual disorder and rebellion.

Following the American war of 1846, had come the second act of foreign intervention, that of France; this while it proved of longer duration, cost the young Republic somewhat less in the end.[1] The United States had reimbursed itself by annexing nearly one-third of Mexico's most valuable territory; France, on the other hand, not only left empty-handed, but considerably out-of-pocket.

To those who live under constitutional governments of matured experience, it becomes difficult to realise the intensity and the bitterness of the internecine struggles which marked—and to-day, alas! continue to mark—the contest for power among the Latin races. With the former, political strife comes and passes like a summer storm, agitating the public mind for a few weeks or may be months, but leaving little trace of rancour and brotherly hatred behind. Not so with the Spanish-Americans, whose deep-seated enmities are passed on from father to son, and are maintained with the enduring intensity and ruthlessness of *vendetta*.

---

[1] The American intervention commenced with the battle of Palo Alto on May 8, 1846, peace being concluded on February 2, 1848. The French intervention commenced with the arrival of the first transport at Vera Cruz, January 7, 1862, and came to an end with the withdrawal of Napoleon's troops in March 1867.

The first effort of a triumphant party is not directed merely to crush but to completely exterminate its political opponents. No measure of confiscation, exile, oppression, or death is considered too severe, causing revenge to spring up like a baneful upas tree, and to spread its poisonous tentacles deep in the native soil, producing sentiments of hate, distrust, intrigue, and revolution as difficult to overcome as the putrid stream of the fable.

Those who would fondly hope that the feelings described would pass away with the flow of time must admit that such confidence has become somewhat shaken and rendered untenable in view of comparatively recent events in Mexico, where a dispossessed, but constitutionally-elected president and vice-president were ruthlessly assassinated in the public thoroughfares, by alleged order of their successors, and in whose Capital for fifteen days and nights a bloody combat was waged between the two contending political factions, regardless of innocent human life and private property. Wherein, some critics have asked, can any improvement be said to have been manifested during the past half-century ? How, they contend, is it possible to argue that political tolerance is practiced any more to-day than was the case in the earliest period of the Republic's history ? Where, they persist in demanding, are the boasted safeguards of that free commonwealth recognised as so necessary to healthful existence ?

Yet those who have resided among the people of Spanish-America know them to be far from an uncivilised or a demoralised race. The Spanish character is not lacking in the nobler attributes of humanity—the new are no less susceptible to lofty impulses than the older northern races. There exists nothing in their disposition which renders them incapable of exercising the rights, or of enjoying rationally the benefits, of self-government. Those who complacently ascribe the general failure of the Mexicans—among other Latin-American nations—to a radical psychological defect of the Spanish race, fall into a very pronounced, though quite comprehensible, error.

Moreover, something—nay, a great deal—must be allowed for the impulses which first led these people—forced by centuries of merciless oppression and stinging injustice—to wrest themselves free at all costs and by means of any sacrifice from the hateful tyranny of their Spanish taskmasters. That they hated the Spaniards can well be believed; these had come among them upon no errand of mercy or altruistic invasion; those steel-cased cavaliers of ancient, proud, and intolerant lineage, the flower and pride of Spain, were impelled by ambition and avarice, sustained by the vainest monarch of the world, enjoying the full sunshine of royal favour, followed and cheered on by the thoughtless enthusiasts of a proselytising faith, inflamed by the wildest dreams of conquest, and a striving for the dominion of the world.

What wonder that the tyranny and injustice of four hundred years should have left its mark upon the present-day descendant of their victims? How can it be reasonable to expect that in little more than a single century the deeply-rooted feelings of rancour and enmity can have been eradicated? The seeds which were so liberally sown by those Spanish tyrants—among whom the highest incentives to action were the favours of artificial and hereditary greatness or the accumulation, by whatsoever means, of that wealth by which favours might be purchased—have not as yet ceased to produce fruit. They have been proved to germinate as generously under a republic as under a monarchy.

Remembering these things, we can to the same extent understand—even if we cannot altogether pardon—the successive deadly and uncompromising struggles between different antagonistic parties, each fighting for a ‘ principle ’ which, when analysed, reveals little else but self-interest and the grasp of autocratic power. The spirit of intolerance which to a large degree has no doubt been inherited from the pernicious Spanish domination, still ranks as the main cause of revolutions and counter-revolutions, such as have distracted the Latin-American races from the earliest days of their independence, occasioning desperate struggles for ascendency if only for a limited term of four or six years. Such had been the history of Mexico for the first half of her century of independence; of later years the experience has threatened to be repeated in almost as calamitous, if fortunately with a less-enduring, vehemence.

It was over these barely-emancipated, and as yet unformed and hot-headed, people that the delicately-nurtured and hitherto care-free Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian was chosen, and consented, to rule. To any ripely-experienced and more elderly administrator such a task would have appeared both difficult and forbidding. Ambitious native rulers like Augustin Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero, and tyrants of the Santa Anna and Comonfort type, had ventured upon the task of governing the Mexicans, with results disastrous to themselves and misfortunes untold to their victims. For the young and amiable European prince, whose knowledge of the world had been confined to the best and purest that it could offer, the undertaking was hopeless from the first. As well have set up a timid mouse to rule over a kingdom of Kilkenny cats, or appoint an innocent lamb to settle the greedy disputes of a colony of ravening wolves. Lord John Russell, who had much to do with regard to the Allies' expedition to Mexico in 1861, had declared that 'it is of the utmost importance that a nation should have a correct standard by which to weigh the character of its rulers.'[1] It was the lack of this standard, among other adverse circumstances, which spelled disaster for Maximilian, even before he had set foot in his new and turbulent empire.

Various reasons have been adduced for the collapse of the movement which brought five years' continuous trouble to Mexico, and to Maximilian of Austria an untimely death. The fundamental cause may be found in the deep-seated wish of Napoleon III. of France to defeat the influence of the United States in Latin-America, and to enrich himself at their expense. It failed because he made it exclusively French instead of being, as originally it was intended that it should be, European. It had been found necessary to consult together, to organise and to agree frankly upon a common basis before acting—but this was not done. France, accused, and accused justly, of secret intentions, was suspected by England and Spain. Neither could they trust the word of Napoleon. They believed that he simply desired to draw them as his allies into a war of intervention, for purely French and monarchical interests, instead of combining for the purpose of following a disinterested and European policy; this was the reason that they suspected and at last abandoned France.

---

[1] Introduction to the third volume of the *Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford.*

But one of two things was true; either France was sincere and wished to act in the common interest, and in this case there ought to have been frank explanations in advance and action only after a diplomatic and military European agreement on an equal footing of force, which would thus have removed any occasion for complaints of reticence against the intervention; or France, acting alone, ought to have moved with a force worthy of herself, and not have commenced by planting her protecting flag in Mexico with a mere handful of heroic men, abandoned at the outset by their auxiliaries, and insufficient for the accomplishment of the original conception.

In these facts lay the imperfection of the enterprise, and the reasons why the people in France always failed to comprehend or approve of it; why from its inception Spain had distrust of it; and why England had abandoned it.

The charges brought against France—some by non-Frenchmen—regarding her entire course of action in this expedition have been harsh, though not unduly so. One may here recall the utterances of Mr. Jacob M. Howard, a Senator from Michigan, U.S.A., who during a debate expressed himself as follows: ‘France has seized the ports of Mexico; she has confiscated her revenues; she has drenched the soil with blood; she has made it necessary for the republican government of Mexico to enter upon obligations of indebtedness which must hereafter weigh heavily and oppressively upon her people; and notwithstanding the gigantic efforts made by the Emperor of the French to convert Mexico into a French province, he has failed.'

The pleas put forward by Napoleon's advocates in his defence were plausible but not very convincing, because the hollowness of the emperor's pretensions, apart from his known dishonesty of purpose, forbade reliance being placed upon the arguments advanced. Napoleon's own speech to the deputies in the month of February 1867, delivered at the time that the last of the French troops were being withdrawn from Mexico, contained many specious and not even superficially-honest assurances; they could have deceived no one. 'We were,' he declared, 'obliged to have recourse to redress legitimate wrongs; and we endeavoured to again raise up an ancient empire. The fortunate results at first obtained were compromised by a deplorable concurrence of circumstances. The idea which guided the expedition to Mexico was a grand one; to regenerate a people; to implant amongst them ideas of order and of progress; to open to our commerce vast outlets, and to leave, as a trace of our passage, the memory of services rendered to civilisation. Such was my desire, as it was yours; but on the day that the extent of our sacrifices appeared to me to be beyond the interest which had called to us from the other side of the Atlantic, I spontaneously decided upon the recall of our army.'

If, as has very often been claimed by North American writers and orators, the withdrawal of the French troops was the direct result of the protests of the United States Government, Napoleon would appear to have thought otherwise. In the same speech as that already noticed, the French emperor, after declaring that he 'spontaneously decided upon the recall of our army,' added: 'The Government of the United States comprehended that an attitude of a non-conciliatory character could only have the effect of prolonging the occupation and envenoming relations which, for the advantage of the two countries, ought to remain of a friendly character.'

M. Thiers, the great French statesman, who later on became the head of the Provisional Government and president of the Republic (1871-73), declared before the Chamber of Deputies in July 1867, when speaking of the tragedy of the previous month at Queretaro, that he had always been opposed to Napoleon's Mexican expedition: adding: 'it is not true that the losses suffered in Mexico by our compatriots were the motive for his expedition; it is equally untrue that at any time there was ever the remotest chance of success.'

This was not the only public refutation entered against Napoleon's assurances; M. Thiers had admitted that 'an arrangement was come to with the United States as to the period when the French troops should leave.' How then does that statement compare with Napoleon's emphatic declaration: 'I spontaneously decided upon the recall of our army'? Moreover, why did M. Drouyn de l'Huys, Napoleon's very subservient minister, trouble to telegraph to the French Minister at Washington, on 11th October 1866, as follows: 'The Emperor has decided that the French troops shall quit Mexico in three detachments. You will please inform the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) officially of this decision.' It would certainly seem as if the clearly-expressed wishes of the United States Government had borne fruit.

It is no less clear that between these two powerful contending elements the unfortunate Maximilian was sacrificed —to the covetous greed of the French on the one hand, and to the calculated obstruction of the United States on the other.

There was no one from whom he could obtain advice regarding his projected venture—no one who knew Mexico and who might, therefore, warn him of the many pitfalls awaiting him. As a consequence, serious mistakes of policy occurred at the outset, notably touching the Church.

Notwithstanding the position which Maximilian had thought it his duty to assume with regard to the Church in Mexico, and the consequent coldness which had arisen between him and the clergy, he remained, as always, a devout and zealous Catholic, and no doubt it was his deep religious faith which helped him to sustain with fortitude and resignation the cruel reverses of fortune which befell and eventually overwhelmed him.

Maximilian's convictions were indeed profoundly papistic, as much by instinct as by association and education. The tendencies of his devotions—as exemplified by copious entries in his diaries—as a prince of the Imperial House of Hapsburg inclined him towards mysticism, just as pride of descent from the great Emperor Charles v. caused him to proclaim that there was nothing superior to 'right divine.' Before this right alone the young prince had bowed his head, until he accepted from a wholly unreal and pretended popular suffrage the crown which he had so often seen in his dreams. Notwithstanding his timid shrinking from the responsibilities of so exalted a position, and his natural love of a quiet and unostentatious life, there is no doubt that Maximilian implicitly believed that he was predestined to wear a diadem, a belief which was further impressed upon him by his yet more ambitious wife and mother.

His aspirations are breathed more than once in his own memoirs. During his travels in Spain (1852) Maximilian found himself one day contemplating in the cathedral of Granada the magnificent insignia of Ferdinand the Catholic : 'I handled the golden circlet and the sword once so powerful,' he writes in his diary ; 'my feelings were a mingling of pride, of longing, and of melancholy. What a glorious, brilliant dream would it be for a nephew of Hapsburg of Austria to draw the sword of Ferdinand to reconquer his own.'

His deep religious convictions were made to bear their part in realising these ambitions, a fact which accounts for the persistency with which he clung to his tottering throne when every wise and prudent thought should have induced him to abandon it while his life was still secure. It also partly explains some of the many acts of incredible folly of which he was guilty at the instigation of his father-confessor and evil genius, the unscrupulous Augustın Fischer, a Catholic convert from the Lutheran Church, an immoral and debased profligate, who subsequently became Imperial Secretary with plenary powers.

There seems to have been no divergence of opinion among those who came into personal contact with Maximilian that in temperament he was one of the most agreeable of men, no doubt possessing also that amiable weakness of human nature, such as Gibbon condemns in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (chap. xiv.), and Henry Fielding in *Tom Jones* (book x. ch. viii.). Prince Felix zu Salm Salm tells us that the emperor easily forgave his enemies, and ‘not only with his lips but with his heart.’ This was proved upon many occasions, and notably when he was parting from Baron von Lago, the neglectful Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. Notwithstanding that Maximilian was perfectly cognisant of the Baron's treacherous conduct, of his lukewarmness and faintheartedness, he wrote to him shortly before his death a few kind lines that he might show them on his return to Vienna.

If Maximilian was not a fatalist, what was it that could have induced him to choose as his literary companion in his prison-cell a book entitled *The History of King Charles I. of England*, a small volume in German, which he was found to be reading when Prince Felix zu Salm Salm paid his parting visit to the doomed emperor on 12th June 1867?

That prince records how, on the 24th of the previous month, while walking in their paved prison-yard in the Convent of the Capuchinos, the emperor ‘stooped to pick up from the ground a crown of thorns which had fallen from the wooden image of Christ, recently used by some of the irreverent Mexican soldiery for firewood. Raising the crown to his own head, Maximilian observed: “Yes; let me wear it; it suits well with my present position.”’

The emperor seems to have profited but little by his knowledge of men and their dispositions, despite his long and diverse travels. Apparently he was not gifted with much observation, and he judged his fellow-creatures either too superficially or too leniently. He had but little conception of wickedness and falsehood in others, which seems all the more remarkable in view of his early experiences of the intriguing court of Vienna, and of the hostile attitude invariably evinced towards him by his own brother, Francis Joseph. It was difficult to convince Maximilian of duplicity in others, and this no doubt led to his own undoing in the end. He could never permit himself to deliberately mortify any one, nor to revenge himself in any way for a real or an imaginary wrong. If by chance his speech or his action had hurt any one his distress was both deep and genuine, while his efforts to make handsome amendment were unrestricted. All faults were judged by him with extreme mildness, and he would seek rather for the good and noble, than for the bad, motives actuating his fellow-creatures.

How lovable a nature was that of Maximilian was proved by the sometimes unwilling sympathy which he exacted from others. His Mexican gaoler—Colonel Villanuéva, an officer who latterly had charge of his person, and up to the day of his death—declared subsequently to Prince zu Salm Salm: ‘he wished with all his heart that he had never seen Maximilian.’ ‘I was his bitter enemy,’ he averred, ‘but he won me altogether by his serene demeanour and his amiability. When I saw him just before the end my heart was breaking, and I am not ashamed to say that I went aside and wept.’ There were many others among the Mexican officers and soldiery who surrounded the unhappy sovereign in his last hours who were similarly drawn to him, and who would have willingly spared him had it been within their power to do so.

Laurence Oliphant, who met Maximilian at Trieste just before the latter's departure for Mexico, gauged his character very accurately; he mentions in his *Adventures in Central America* that ‘when I heard the noble and lofty ambitions which actuated the soul of the newly-crowned emperor, I foresaw the bitter disappointment in store for him, although I could not anticipate the tragic end.'

Undoubtedly Maximilian's worst fault was his extreme fickleness—a failing never maliciously practised upon others, for, indeed, he proved himself upon many notable occasions a remarkably staunch and even quixotic friend—but a fickleness in the sense of indecisive personal action, an inconstancy of purpose, and an inability to adhere to a resolution once taken. That he could also practise deception of an innocent kind was no less certain, for he tricked Marshal Bazaine into providing 'an escort for the Empress Charlotte' on her pretended return to Mexico, when he knew perfectly well that not alone was Charlotte then still in Rome, but that she never would return to resume her place at court. In two letters written and signed by Maximilian, dated from the Castle of Chapultepec, Mexico City, 11th and 19th October 1866, he makes the same demand upon the same shallow pretence, his real object being to secure protection for his own person upon his then contemplated flight from the country. He had not, however, the moral pluck to tell the truth to Bazaine, nor the courage to make his escape, when, his deception having succeeded in its object, the means for flight were provided.

Maximilian's good-natured spirit was reflected in his face, which bore upon all occasions a kindly and friendly expression. This cordiality, however, was never displayed in the guise of familiarity, for even with his most intimate friends he maintained an easy and natural dignity. His laugh was spontaneous and merry, while his wit was ready and even sometimes brilliant. Naturally gifted as a speaker and a writer, his conversation was always worth listening to, more especially since he possessed a remarkably sound memory which served him upon occasions to good effect. His wide travel enabled him to recall readily numerous incidents and occurrences, many of which he has recorded in his diaries for our edification ; but others were reserved for the ears of his confidants, and as passing events may have suggested their recountment.

Moreover, he was a good listener, and he offered much encouragement to those who could be induced to relate their adventures and experiences, even when he guessed them to be either untrue or exaggerated. No one ever found him difficult to get on with, and those who were favoured with his closer friendship possessed in him a firm and a loyal, if not invariably a very wise, counsellor, but one as generous as he was conciliatory, and as prompt to bestow as he was ready to repay. Such a man was bound to fall a victim to the cupidity and avarice of his encirclement, and while he himself failed to maintain any recollection or to keep any record of his innumerable generous actions, there have been some who have borne witness to acts of liberality, amounting, upon occasions, to reckless munificence. From boyhood this propensity to give had distinguished him, and it signalised his actions to the last. Almost immediately before his execution, and upon alighting from the carriage which had brought him to the place of death, Maximilian approached each soldier of the firing party, offering his hand and bestowing a *Maximilian d'or* (twenty pésos), saying: 'Muchachos (boys), aim well, and aim right here,' pointing his hand to his heart.

Among those who have testified to the great amiability and general worth of Maximilian has been the late Queen Victoria, who seems to have entertained an exceptionally warm regard for him. Writing (16th June 1857) to King Leopold I. of the Belgians, her majesty's uncle, the queen says: 'The Archduke Maximilian (who is here since Sunday evening) led me to the chapel,[1] and at the luncheon I sat between him and Fritz. I cannot say how much we like the archduke; he is charming, so clever, natural, kind and amiable, so *English* in his feelings and likings, and so anxious for the best understanding between Austria and England. With the exception of his mouth and chin, he is good-looking, and I think one does not the least care for that, as he is so very kind and clever and pleasant. I wish you really joy, dearest uncle, at having got *such* a husband for dear Charlotte, as I am sure he will make her happy, and is quite worthy of her. He may and will do a great deal for Italy.'

---

[1] On the occasion of the christening of Princess Beatrice, now Princess Henry of Battenberg.

Her late majesty's ideas in this letter were well founded, for Maximilian succeeded in effecting much towards reconciling Italy to Austrian rule. Had he not thrown up the Viceroyalty of the Provinces in disgust, there would probably have been no Magenta or Solferino. Likewise was realised the other part of the good queen's prophecy, since during the nine years of their wedded life which were passed together (1857-66), the royal pair were as happy as two human beings can ever hope to be.

Queen Victoria's high opinion of the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian was fully shared by his father-in-law, for King Leopold, although by no means prone to pass favourable judgments without mature consideration, and then only after a ripe experience, has recorded his personal liking and esteem for Maximilian. In the course of a letter addressed to his niece Victoria, dated Laeken, 10th October 1856, Leopold writes :—' The Archduke is out at sea, and nothing can well be heard before the 25th of this month. If the thing (the engagement to his daughter Charlotte) takes place, the emperor (Francis Joseph of Austria) ought to put him at the head of Venice ; he is well calculated for it.' In an earlier part of the same letter, Leopold declares : ' The archduke has made a favourable impression upon Charlotte ; I saw that much before any question of engagement had taken place.'

Queen Victoria followed the fortunes of the imperial couple right up to the time of their departure for Mexico, but thereafter they seem to have passed more or less from her recollection until the tragedy of 19th June 1867. Ten years earlier (27th July 1857) we find the queen writing as follows to her good gossip and ' only uncle ' King Leopold : ' At *this* very *moment* the marriage is going on—the *knot* is being tied which binds your lovely sweet child to a thoroughly worthy husband, and I am sure that you will be much moved. May every blessing attend her ! I wish I could be present, but my dearest *Half* being there makes me feel as I were there myself. I try to picture to myself how *all* will be. I could not give you greater proof of my love for you all, and my anxiety to give you and dearest Charlotte pleasure, than in urging my dearest Albert to go over—for you cannot think *combien cela me coûte* and how completely *déroutée* I am and feel when he is away. . . . We shall drink the archduke's and archduchess's healths, and I have ordered *wine* for our servants and *grog* for our sailors to do the same. . . . Vicky (the late princess royal, Victoria, afterwards Empress of Germany), who is painting in the alcove near me, wishes me to say everything to you and the *dear young couple*, and pray tell dear Charlotte all that we have been doing.'

The late queen's enthusiasm as here set forth, and always expressed in italics, and with many other characteristic underlinings, reminds one of Syrus' maxim—*aut amat aut odit mulier, nihil est tertium* : ' a woman either loves or hates, she knows no medium.'

The number of portraits of Maximilian which are still in existence represent him at almost exactly the same age, that is between twenty and thirty-five. In height he stood just under six feet, the figure being slender and remarkably graceful, shoulders square and the waist slim. His natural movements, his gait, and especially his manner of greeting, were characterised by much elegance and agreeableness. The archduke's complexion was an uncommonly delicate one for a man, the pale pinky skin usually flushing easily under excitement or agitation, while no less seldom would the merry blue eyes become suffused with tears. Maximilian had an abundant mass of fair, almost flaxen, hair, which he wore carefully parted in the middle in a rather effeminate style. A favourite habit was passing two thin well-shaped fingers through the long strands, and brushing them back from the eyes over which they were apt to fall with any rapid motion of the head. His fair beard and whiskers were also long and fleecy, being carefully parted in the centre of the chin, and flowing upon either shoulder in the true Dundreary style. The moustache was cut or grew naturally short just above the upper lip, leaving the mouth in full view. This was Maximilian's worst feature. It was a weak mouth, shaped somewhat like an arc above a slightly receding chin, denoting the undoubted feebleness of his character. His passing passions continually stamped their impress upon his mobile face, each individual emotion having its own expression.

Just as Caesar was enabled to detect the pretence of the spurious Alexander by his rough hands and surface, so any one of the Hapsburgs could have been recognised by the easily-flushing faces and the nervous movements of the hands towards the mouth and hair. The short upper full red lip, suggesting animal passion, showed the well-shaped teeth even when the face was in repose; the same characteristic may be traced in several existing portraits of his ancestors—in Philip, son of Maximilian I., and of Donna Juana of Spain; in Ferdinand I., the weak-minded but amiable prince who became head of the Austrian dynasty; and particularly in the case of Maximilian's father, the Prince Francis Charles, who had renounced the throne in favour of his eldest son, the present Emperor Francis Joseph. Of the remarkable strength of character possessed by his more famous ancestress Maria Theresa, who founded the line of Hapsburg-Lothringen, there was no trace.

There are many fanciful legends which have been handed down by the ancients of Mexico, from the Toltecs who were the earliest known settlers in Anahuac[1] to the Chilimecs their successors, from them to the Nahuals and so again to the Aztecs.[2] There was one legend which told of the coming of a great deity, god of the air, a saintly ruler and civiliser—described as a 'tall and fair stranger of gracious mien and of gentle speech,' the favourite god of the people,

---

[1] Mexico of to-day.

[2] In language, customs, and physique the Aztecs represented a race of men who flourished in pre-Homeric days, before the dawn of history broke.

Quetzalcoatl. He was to arrive across the seas in a boat from afar-off, accompanied by a 'beautiful female,' and both were to be clothed in sumptuous raiment such as no human eyes had ever looked upon.

The same legend set forth how, many centuries back, before even Tenochtitlán [1] had been founded, Quetzalcoatl had reigned among them, but had been banished from the land by other gods because he had refused to countenance war among the people of the earth. Before he quitted the shores, however, Quetzalcoatl had promised his sorrowing votaries that he would one day return to them, 'bringing everlasting peace and plenty to the land, and for ever after would he dwell among them.'

It was, then, but small matter for surprise that the ignorant and intensely superstitious Mexican peasantry should have identified Maximilian with the mystic Quetzalcoatl, and the beautiful female Charlotte as his lovely goddess. Many lithographic and highly-coloured portraits of the imperial pair, clad in their coronation robes, had been industriously distributed among the Mexican populace, and it was, therefore, with almost a spirit of reverence and religious awe that their advent to Mexico was awaited. If, as it lucklessly transpired, Maximilian was destined to bring fire and the sword, destruction and desolation to the expectant people in place of that 'peace and plenty' which had been promised, at least physically he fulfilled all their high expectations. His handsome features, his flaming auburn beard, his kindly blue eyes, and his tall and graceful figure appealed most strongly to the Indian peasant imagination, while the exceptional beauty of Charlotte, her dazzling complexion, her star-like eyes and her girlish spirits, proved irresistible.

Nothing could have been more promising than these first impressions, destined, alas! to be so completely destroyed in the tragic history to be enacted.

Let us now follow the career of this unfortunate prince from the time that he departed, unwillingly enough, from his beautiful home at Miramar, for the turbulent shores of Mexico, where he was destined to find his early death. Let us, gentle reader, trace step by step the adventures of this attractive, merry young Archduke of Austria, from the days when, as a care-free, healthy, and generously dispositioned lad, he was pursuing his studies and qualifying for that bright naval career which he was so well adapted by temperament to pursue. Let us follow him next upon his world-wide travels, enjoying every day, every hour, of his untramelled life ; revelling in the many beautiful things of the earth, rendering thanks to the Supreme Being in whose all-wise benevolence he so profoundly trusted ; shedding the light of his own happy nature around him, and compelling the affection and the admiration of his fellows wherever his wandering footsteps led ; realising, in his pure and unselfish mode of living, in his lofty sense of moral duty, those words of Emerson : ‘A great mind is a good sailor, as a great heart is.’

---

[1] Now called Mexico City.

We see Maximilian in his Austrian home, pursuing his favourite occupations, indulging in many and always intellectual pastimes, sharing his joyous existence with the beautiful young Belgian princess, Charlotte, as intelligent and as talented as she was industrious and ambitious. From their fair castle we may accompany them upon the fateful voyage to their distant empire ; we shall witness their temporary triumphs, their speedy disappointments, their bitter delusions ; we shall also learn something of their brilliant court, and of the manner in which the empress assisted with the weighty affairs of government ; observe the gradual decline of the royal influence, the many intrigues, and the personal affronts to which the young sovereigns were subjected ; the horrors of the prolonged war, as conducted by the French on the one hand and by the Liberals on the other ; the mistakes and misjudgments committed by Maximilian under the malign advice of his counsellors ; the final departure for Europe of his plucky consort, and the rapid decline of his fortunes from that moment ; the mental affliction which speedily overtook the empress, while still engaged upon her difficult mission ; the humiliation to which she was subjected at the hands of the treacherous Emperor of the French, and the cold comfort administered by the Holy Father ; the betrayal of Maximilian to his enemies ; the mockery of his trial and his martyrdom at Queretaro —all these facts are unfolded from their source to their conclusion.

CHAPTER I

Birth of Maximilian—Parentage—Schönbrunn—Condition of Europe in 1832—Education—Friendship with Prince Albert—The brothers—Disposition of Francis Joseph—The Archduchess Sophia—Early travels abroad—Meeting with Princess Charlotte of Belgium—Their marriage—Their home at Miramar—A picturesque castle—Maximilian's favourite room.

Among the beautiful surroundings of Vienna there is nothing to be found more scenically attractive than Schönbrunn, the 'Windsor' of the Imperial Court of Austria. Here was born, on 6th July 1832, Ferdinand Maximilian, the second son of the Archduke Francis Charles and the Archduchess Sophia of Bavaria, as had been his brother Francis Joseph. The palace of Schönbrunn, with its many apartments and galleries, its wide-spreading halls and innumerable staircases, formed the earliest playground of the three young princes—Francis, Ferdinand, and Charles. The difference in their ages was not great, there being but two years between Francis and Ferdinand and one year between Ferdinand and Charles. Except for their nurses, tutors and governesses, they were left very much to their own devices, but contemporary writers describe them as having been quiet and well-behaved boys, serious beyond their years, and easily amenable to control. To a great extent this would, no doubt, be due to the troublous times in which they were born, when thorns beset the crown of Austria, and dreadful scenes—which could not be kept wholly from the knowledge of the boys—were of daily occurrence, scenes which induced two emperors in succession to renounce their imperial pomp, Ferdinand v., who abdicated 2nd December 1848, and Francis Charles who refused to succeed, on the same date.

Both Francis Joseph and Ferdinand Maximilian were born into the world just about the period that the long-existing peace of Europe, unbroken since the defeat and exile of Napoleon in 1815—a peace fraught with innumerable blessings to the distracted and exhausted states—came to an end. Then followed the swing of the pendulum. The people of one country were dreaming of the past ; others were speculating on the future : most were dissatisfied with the present. The monotony of fifteen years' peace was becoming unbearable, and France was the first to feel the effect of the general sentiment. The Revolution of 1830 synchronised with the birth of Francis Joseph, and important consequences attended all the countries of the Continent in a greater or less degree, the march of revolution being irresistible in Western Europe, while an entire change was effected in the institutions and dynasties on the thrones of the principal States. The Russian Czar in full march towards Paris was arrested on the banks of the Vistula ; the Orleans family was clinging—and with success—to the throne of France ; Belgium was revolutionised, torn from the monarchy of the Netherlands, and the Coburg family placed in possession of the crown ; the monarchies of Spain and Portugal were overturned, and a revolutionary dynasty of queens established on their thrones, in direct violation of the Treaty of Utrecht ; in the eastern part of Europe, the last remnants of Polish nationality were extinguished only after a gallant resistance to restore their precious nationality. Austria and Prussia were too much occupied in suppressing the seething discontent within their own borders to think of renewing the crusade of 1813.

Thus the young princes of the House of Hapsburg were quickly inducted into political turmoil, and by the time they were approaching man's estate they had gained the experience of a frightful civil war which rent the Austrian provinces from end to end of those vast dominions. The Sclavonians revolted in Bohemia, the Lombards in Italy, the Magyars in Hungary, and, but for the powerful Russian force in the close vicinity, the Poles would have joined the rebellion in Galicia. It seemed, indeed, as if the whole Austrian Empire must be broken up never again to be reunited.

The young Ferdinand Maximilian, under the care of his professors, devoted the greater portion of his time to studies, being kept as far as possible away from the scenes of seething political turbulence. He astonished his tutors by his ready application and the keen appreciation which he displayed for his work, his industry and diligence having been remarked upon as altogether unusual for a boy of his age. Being destined for a naval career, his attention was more particularly devoted to maritime matters, of which he soon acquired a remarkably complete knowledge.

Almost as soon as Francis Joseph ascended the throne of Austria the war in Hungary recommenced under Prince Windischgrätz in 1848, and the exciting experiences at the time of the insurrection at Vienna were often referred to by Maximilian in after days. The impressions left upon his mind by the second insurrection, which resulted in the assassination of Count Latour, the Minister of War; the flight of the Emperor Francis Joseph the day afterwards; the bombardment of Vienna by Windischgrätz and Jellachich; its capitulation (30th October), and the distressing time which followed, were indelibly fixed upon the mind of the young archduke. He was but sixteen years of age at this time, and extremely susceptible. How deep was the impression created upon Maximilian's mind by the terrible chaos which reigned in Austria is shown by the entry in his own diary while sojourning upon the beautiful island of Madeira some years afterwards (7th July 1853). He writes: 'I thought silently to myself that if I had known Madeira before 1848, I should have known where to find for myself *in extremis* a peaceful retreat from all the world.'

The Archduchess Sophia, a princess of the House of Bavaria, after seeing her elder son crowned as emperor, devoted a great part of her attention to the future of Maximilian, and it was mainly through her instrumentality and advice that he subsequently yielded to the dangerous temptations offered by Napoleon III.

The name of Maximilian had been a distinguished one in her own family, and it is probable that she foresaw for her favourite son a brilliant and prosperous reign when inducing him to accept the crown of Mexico. Perhaps, also, the fact that certain members of the Princess's own family had received—at least upon one occasion—substantial advantages from France, even if its members subsequently had to suffer many penalties, influenced the archduchess's ambition regarding Maximilian's destiny.

In 1805 Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria had been the firm ally of France, receiving, as his reward from Napoleon I., the title of king and several important additions to his territories. The alliance continued until 1813, when the opportunist Maximilian Joseph turned against France and rejoined the Allies, only, however, after receiving the solemn assurance that what Napoleon had bestowed upon him should be confirmed by his new friends. This was done, and to the assistance rendered by the Bavarians no doubt Napoleon greatly owed his ultimate defeat. Three years after Waterloo, Maximilian Joseph gave his people a Constitution, and in 1825 he died, being succeeded by his son Louis. Then, upon the latter's abdication in 1848, came another Maximilian, who, again, in 1864, gave place to a second Louis. At this time Maximilian of Austria was about to leave Europe for his new empire in Mexico, urged to the last by his mother and by his wife, the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, whom he had married in Brussels on 27th July 1857.

The lack of affection between the two brothers Francis Joseph and Ferdinand Maximilian was early noted by their mother, although she seems to have been but little distressed by the fact. The sentiments exhibited by the elder were those of unreasoning jealousy, and the apparent fear of the greater popularity which the younger brother seemed to attract spontaneously wherever he went. While nothing in Maximilian's manner or speech had ever suggested

MAXIMILIAN AT THE AGE OF 32

MAXIMILIAN AT THE AGE OF 30

MAXIMILIAN AT THE AGE OF 35, THE YEAR OF HIS DEATH (1867)

that he entertained any desire or idea of succeeding—and certainly not of superseding—Francis Joseph, the latter appeared to entertain continual suspicion of his brother's good faith. He succeeded in rendering the young archduke's sojourn at court as unattractive and as uncongenial as possible. He welcomed, with altogether suspicious alacrity, Maximilian's proposal to undertake a journey around the world, and when the prince finally consented to start upon this—his first—long round of travel, which commenced 30th July 1857, and terminated on 19th January 1860, the emperor speeded him on his way with cheerfulness, and witnessed his departure with unconcealed satisfaction.

Additional proof of the jealousy with which the Emperor Francis Joseph regarded his younger brother, and which feeling must have dictated his desire to see him settled in Mexico—trusting that events would, as indeed they did, keep him there—is afforded in a letter which was addressed to Maximilian (then emperor) at Mexico City by his wife's faithful friend and loyal servant M. Eloin, the Belgian councillor and devoted friend of the Princess Charlotte. In the course of his somewhat lengthy epistle, dated Brussels, 17th September 1866, M. Eloin says: 'When I was travelling through Austria I was enabled to ascertain the general discontent which is prevailing there. Nothing is yet done. The emperor (Francis Joseph) is disheartened; the people are becoming impatient and publicly demand his abdication. A sympathy for your majesty is visibly spreading throughout the territory of the empire. In Venetia there is a party ready to welcome their former governor.'

Sadowa goes even further in his revelations concerning the feeling of animosity cherished by Francis Joseph against his brother. The Austrian emperor is said to have forwarded to Baron von Lago, his ambassador at Mexico, 'strict injunctions to prevent Maximilian from setting foot upon Austrian soil if he returned to Europe bearing the title of emperor.' The tragedy of 19th June 1867 must have brought relief to the over-anxious Austrian monarch in one respect at least.

This feeling of unnatural suspicion, amounting to morbid jealousy, had been displayed by the Emperor Francis Joseph towards Maximilian while the latter was fulfilling his duties as Viceroy of the Italian Provinces. Sir Horace Rumbold bears testimony to the popularity of the archduke—a popularity which seems to have annoyed the emperor at Vienna as much as the facts that Maximilian had won golden opinions from all classes and that by his wide and liberal methods he was in a fair way towards finally reconciling the mass of the population to Austrian rule. But Giulay was sent by the emperor to Milan as *adlatus,* instructed to check Maximilian's mild proceedings, with the result that the archduke threw up his viceroyalty in disgust, and the government fell back at once into its old and vicious ruck, and the people to their customary misery and discontent.

But little correspondence—and this of a far from affectionate character—passed between the two brothers during these two and a half years; neither did Maximilian's return to the court at Vienna some time in the following February seem to have awakened any exhibition of joy or satisfaction, except perhaps among those few to whom the handsome and merry young prince had become something more than a name.

Of the avidity with which the Emperor Francis Joseph endorsed the suggestion put forward by Napoleon, offering the crown of Mexico to the Austrian archduke, a matter already referred to, there exists no doubt. It was regarded as an unexpectedly good opportunity of again, and this time permanently, getting rid of the archduke and his dazzlingly beautiful but somewhat *difficile* archduchess; without further demur Francis Joseph gave his consent, and the last lingering feeling of hesitation upon the part of the innocent victim of Napoleon's ambition was overcome.

Speaking of the part which Francis Joseph bore in this unworthy trafficking with a noble and generous character, Prince Felix zu Salm Salm[1] says: 'Though the necessities of policy compelled the brother of Maximilian to join his hand to that of Napoleon, still there is above us a Power that will not forget that by this hand the blood of a noble and good man was spilt at the fort Cerro de la Compaña.'

---

[1] Maximilian's aide-de-camp and faithful companion in prison.

It would be difficult to the ordinary mind to conceive, and still less to excuse, any 'policy' which could call for the deliberate sacrifice of a young and gallant life, and that the life of a brother. None could have imagined in what dread tragedy the action of the two plotting sovereigns could result; but there is little reason to doubt that both Francis Joseph and Napoleon were perfectly well aware that danger of some kind awaited the experiment, and, indeed, of its possibility and probability both had been amply warned. Of this warning, however, Ferdinand Maximilian was permitted to learn nothing.

When little more than eighteen years of age, Maximilian undertook a lengthy journey to Greece, a country for which he had always entertained the deepest sympathy, as much for its gallant struggles against Turkey in 1821 as for its fascinating ancient civilisation. The archduke was a brilliant Greek scholar, and well versed generally in classical literature.

From quite an early period of his life, probably on account of his exalted position, Maximilian had been his own master. Even in material points he had been allowed by his parents and his tutors to remain almost entirely unfettered by the usual restrictions placed upon minors. For a young man possessed of the ordinary disposition this complete freedom might well have meant an exhibition of selfishness and, perhaps, of presumption; but Maximilian seems to have taken no other advantage of his liberty than the determination to enjoy life in a manly and rational manner. He was, as already indicated, of a naturally cheerful temperament, and we find him writing in his diary, on the occasion of his coming of age: 'I was twenty years old to-day (6th July 1852). If there be any prophetic warning in the manner in which one's birthday is spent, then the year to come will indeed be gay, bright, and free from care; for never did I pass this anniversary in so joyous and so enchanting a manner.' At this time, Maximilian was in Madeira, of which he wrote with his usual enthusiasm: 'Favoured island! that can produce a sample of all that is beautiful in every quarter of the world!'

Maximilian, although a brilliant linguist, scarcely ever referred to his accomplishments in this direction. On one occasion, however, an Englishman, who could speak no tongue but his own, not an unusual characteristic of the Briton abroad, apologised to the emperor for his shortcomings in this respect, when Maximilian modestly observed that 'Spanish was the tenth language which he had acquired,' adding: 'it was so long since he had spoken English that he had almost forgotten it,' and that 'he did not like conversing in a language with which he was not thoroughly familiar.' Afterwards he extended his travels to Italy, Spain, Portugal, the island of Madeira, Tangier, and Algiers. In this African territory, where the dominion of Rome ceased to count and Islamism commenced to assert itself, and where France had recently gained several important victories, the young archduke found great attraction, especially in the more mountainous regions. He made the ascent of Mount Atlas, selecting the most difficult and one of the most lofty of the peaks—Mount Henleb, near to the Algerian frontier—while he also traversed the difficult and, at that time, dangerous country as far as Media, in Persia.

In 1854 this young and intrepid traveller, usually alone except for a couple of attendants, one of whom was an European, explored the littoral of Albania and Dalmatia, while in charge of the corvette *Minerva*. Upon this expedition Maximilian's wanderings were suddenly checked; he was summoned to return to Vienna in connection with his naval duties; but he again went forth upon his wanderings in the summer of the following year, this time being in command of the *Schwartzembourg*, and accompanied by a flotilla of seventeen sails. This time he directed his path to Candia, afterwards visiting Beyrouth and ascending Mount Lebanon, returning by the coasts of Palestine. He passed many days in Jerusalem, a place which had a great fascination for him, and in after years he declared that in no part of the world, and at no time in his life, had he felt more touched than when wandering alone among the sacred precincts of the Holy City.

From this part of the Near East Maximilian journeyed to Egypt, visiting Cairo, the Pyramids, and the ancient city of Memphis. He took a special interest in the Canal at Suez, the construction of which had just been authorised by the Viceroy (1856), although the concession to M. de Lesseps was not granted until ten years later, at a time when Maximilian, who had hoped to have witnessed the completion of the enterprise, was within one year of his death. From Suez he journeyed across the desert, terminating this expedition with a visit to the island of Sicily.

This same year (1856) Maximilian travelled extensively through Germany, Belgium, and Holland; afterwards he visited France, where he remained for some time as the guest of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Cloud. In the following year his wanderings extended to the Rhine, Lombardy, Central Italy, and finally to England.

A strong friendship existed between Ferdinand Maximilian and the Prince Consort, while the Prince and Princess of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra), as well as the late Princess Royal (afterwards the Empress Frederick of Germany) and her 'baby' (now the Emperor William of Germany), were all remarkably good friends.

After a few days' stay among friends in this country, including a particularly pleasant visit paid to Queen Victoria at Windsor, Maximilian returned to Belgium, and upon this occasion, while a guest in the palace of King Leopold I., he met his future wife, the Princess Charlotte.

After their marriage, Maximilian and Charlotte pursued their wanderings in company for a time. Both were enthusiastic travellers, and as they were also accomplished linguists, were quite young, were possessed of excellent health, and had an abundance of energy and good spirits, their journeys through many different countries of the world proved for them one unalloyed delight, upon which both dwelt often in converse in later years. Together they visited the lesser-known parts of Spain, the Canary Islands, and Madeira, in which latter island Charlotte elected to pass the winter (at the villa of her sister-in-law, the Empress Elizabeth of Austria), while Maximilian pursued alone his more perilous journey to the Brazils. Here he made several important scientific excursions up the Amazon river and through some of the dense Amazonian forests ; fear of yellow fever, a disease which was very prevalent in these regions in those days—if somewhat less to be apprehended in ours—had no effect in diminishing his ardour ; a splendid constitution and an irrepressible optimism carried him immune everywhere.

From the Brazils, the archduke found his way to other states of South America, then, as for some years later, in the throes of sanguinary political revolutions, while residence there, for however short a time, could have been anything but attractive from a sanitary point of view. Maximilian's intimate knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish tongues carried him through these countries with great facility, and everywhere he was received with manifestations of respect, and that open-hearted hospitality which is characteristic of Latin-Americans. Many of his experiences are set forth in his diaries, published under the title of *Recollections of My Life*, but unfortunately, owing to careless editing, it is impossible to follow the route with any great certainty, nor is it easy to understand some of the references which are made to places and individuals.

The first German edition of these diaries was issued from the publishing house of Duncker & Humblot, of Leipzig, in August 1867, two months after the death of the illustrious author. This edition consisted of four volumes, which were followed by three others in the month of October of the same year. The English edition, which is but an indifferent translation, and, as mentioned, very confusing in regard to dates, was published in August of 1868, in three volumes. The diary starts from 30th July 1851, but the journeys were actually commenced one year previously.

When at length their travels about the world were terminated, the archduke and archduchess settled down for a period of rest and peaceful contentment in their Austrian home, the beautiful Castle of Miramar which, together, they had planned and built.

The Castle of Miramar lies about one league distant from the important port of Trieste. The road leading to it is delightfully attractive, following the coastline of the Adriatic which indents and encircles it at numerous points and bordering it for nearly the whole distance, forming, indeed, a delicate framework with an irregular border of white, lace-like foam thrown up by the blue wavelets upon the shore. When the waves are calm—which is not always the case—the witching beauty of the scenery cannot be excelled. Then the soft and rippling waves appear to be of a perfectly transparent cerulean hue, so clear that objects can be discerned at several fathoms' depth beneath the surface.

Surrounding the incomparable bay there have been built a number of pure white villas ; these are inhabited by the more wealthy of the citizens, and many are occupied by business men who visit Trieste daily and find this delightful suburb a pleasant retreat after office hours. The whole scene is semi-tropical in appearance ; the marble porticos and handsomely ornamented balconies of the villas peep pleasantly from behind dense masses of heavy foliage, waving palms, and other non-deciduous trees.

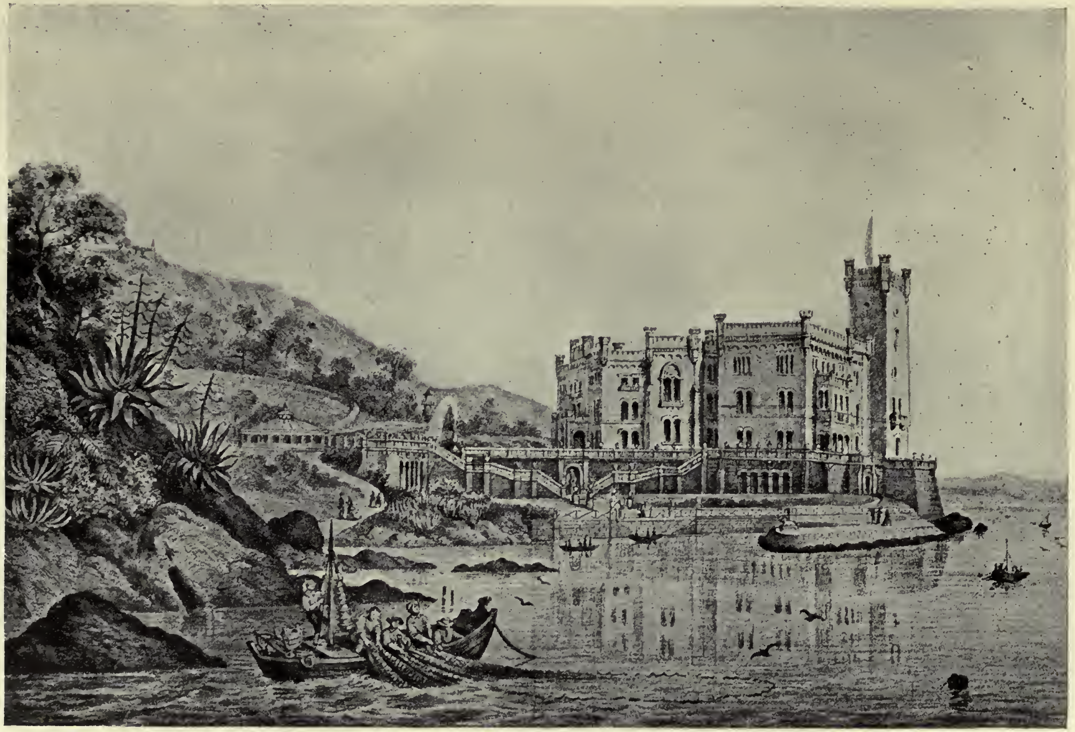
At the extreme end of the sea-road, occupying a picturesque promontory, the Castle of Miramar comes into view, its embattled towers and massive style of architecture completely dominating the sea, and producing an almost melancholy effect upon the beholder by reason of the structure's close resemblance to a gigantic fortress.

When the Archduke Maximilian decided to build for himself this lordly pleasure-house, he possessed no knowledge of his impending appointment to the post of Governor of the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces. He had barely commenced the construction when he was compelled to abandon the superintendence of the work, and depart for his new location. His appointment, however, lasted but a short while, and with his withdrawal from active political life in Austria he found himself enabled to again continue the erection of his future home.

The Archduchess Charlotte evinced fully as much pleasure in the completion and arrangement of the castle, and in a few years' time they had gathered around them a unique collection of costly furniture, statuary, and pictures which served to distinguish this home from all others by the refinement and sumptuousness of its internal arrangements. The gardens which gradually grew up around the castle became veritable wonderlands of beauty, and for some years the merry young couple preferred the delightful retreat which these exquisite grounds afforded them to all the gaiety and excitement which were to be found either at the capital or in Trieste.

The open-handed hospitality dispensed by the imperial owners of Miramar became proverbial; any one, no matter what his station, nationality, or creed, was welcome not only to enter the grounds and to wander at his full pleasure through the park and flower-gardens, but to gain admission to the castle itself, wherein, if it was his good fortune to encounter either the archduke or archduchess, he would be courteously invited to partake of refreshment, visit the picture-galleries, or listen to an impromptu organ recital given by the talented young prince, who was both a gifted musician and an accomplished performer. Small wonder that Maximilian was considered the most popular man in Austria in those days, as his wife was justly considered the most beautiful woman.

The prince's private cabinet and the small alcove leading to it were an exact reproduction of the quarters which had been occupied by Maximilian on the imperial frigate *Novara*, of which he was the commandant, and on board which vessel he had made a complete tour of the world. In his sleeping apartment there hung but a single picture—an oil painting of the Archduchess Charlotte. The library was particularly rich and complete, containing a representative



THE CASTLE OF MIRAMAR, ON THE ADRIATIC, NEAR TRIESTE (AUSTRIA),
BUILT BY MAXIMILIAN

collection of the best authors in all languages—German, French, English, and Spanish, for Maximilian was a proficient in all of these, as in at least four or five other tongues. Even the difficult Slavonic, Czech, Magyar, and other Hungarian dialects were known to him, and one of the many reasons for his intense popularity among the masses of his brother's subjects was his readiness to chat with any peasant or other humble person with whom he might meet in the latter's own *patois* or peculiar native dialect.

Among the more notable statuary in this luxurious home were handsome busts in marble and bronze of some of the archduke's favourite authors—Homer, Dante, Goethe, Shakespeare, and others. The window of the cabinet overlooked the blue Adriatic, affording widely-extending views of the distant harbour of old Trieste, as well as of the new with its extensive modern moles and breakwaters, and far beyond to the barren but picturesque Korst Hills and the borders of the Adriatic Sea.

In the handsome dining saloon, which had been constructed entirely from the design drawn by Maximilian himself, were hung portraits of the Emperor Francis Joseph, his elder brother, and of the latter's handsome wife the Empress Elizabeth; while, in an alcove, were placed portraits of Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie. The beautiful but small chapel of the castle was constructed upon a model of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre erected by the pious Greeks in Jerusalem in 1810.

Upon the first floor of the castle there was—and still is, so far as the present writer knows—to be found a fine exhibition of paintings, many of them being by the most celebrated European masters, as well as a very complete collection of photographs relating to the different countries which had been visited by the archduke, many of them excellent pictures, the work of his own hands. Striking portraits of the Pope (Pius IX.) and of the Queen Isabella of Spain, and near by the original writing-table belonging to the unfortunate Queen Marie Antoinette, together with a sacred portrait from the hand of Rafael, were among other treasures.

The walls of the dining-room were almost completely covered by pictures in oil, chalks, and water-colours, depicting the Castle of Miramar, together with some of the surrounding grounds and scenery portrayed from several points of view; and this site dated its stormy history from the time of the Romans. Another famous drawing showed the public reception accorded to King Leopold I. of Belgium upon the occasion of his State visit to Trieste. Yet another illustrated the scene of the departure of Maximilian and Charlotte for Mexico on 24th April 1864.

The grand staircase of the castle, built in the German gothic style, presented a splendid example of elaborate wood-carving, while a number of complete sets of mediæval armour and several life-sized marble statues lent an improving and decidedly attractive appearance to the lofty hall from which the staircase led to the upper apartments.

By the magic of his splendid taste, his great wealth, and his ardent love for beautiful surroundings, Maximilian had turned the bare rock which commanded the Adriatic into a veritable human paradise. The colour scheme, rich and sometimes *bizarre,* the ponderous nature of the building, and the fairy-like surroundings of park, terrace, and brilliantly-hued gardens, made up a picture almost unique of its kind in Europe. Small surprise that the fortunate owner, who had raised up this ethereal domain out of a practical waste-land, should have craved for it again and again, that his eyes should instinctively have turned in the direction of his peaceful and beautiful home during those stormy and stressful days in far-off Mexico.

CHAPTER II

Princess Charlotte—Birth and parentage—King Leopold I. of Belgium—His death—Queen Louise-Marie of Bourbon—Charlotte's early training—Great powers of judgment—Meeting with Maximilian—Their married life—Charlotte's disposition—Correspondent, conversationalist, and critic—Imperial ambitions—Her linguistic capabilities—Her great industry and application.

MARIE CHARLOTTE AMÉLIE AUGUSTINE VICTOIRE CLÉMENTINE LÉOPOLDINE—commonly called 'Charlotte'—is the second daughter of Leopold I., King of the Belgians, and of his second wife, Louise-Marie of France. She was born at the Palace of Laeken, near Brussels, on 7th June 1840, so that she was eight years younger than her future husband Maximilian, born 6th July 1832.

Charlotte's father was formerly Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, whose German origin and connections were thought by the Belgians likely to conciliate the powers of that country. This belief, no doubt, influenced them in offering to Leopold the crown which had been denied to Prince Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria; to the Duke of Leuchtenburg, owing to the objections raised by the French Government; and to the Duke of Nemours, who was prevented by Louis Philippe from accepting it.

The princess's father was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of his time, and much of his strength of character, brilliancy of conversation and affectionate nature were reflected in his favourite child, his daughter. To Englishmen he was particularly *simpático*, since not only was he uncle to our good Queen Victoria (he was the fourth son of Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld), but he married in May 1816, as his first wife, the much-loved English Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince Regent (afterwards King George iv.), and who, to the great grief of the whole British nation, died one year after her marriage. Leopold had previously been made a peer of the British realm under the title of Duke of Kendal. As the widower of Princess Charlotte, Leopold enjoyed a jointure of £50,000 per annum from the British Government, and up to the time of his death, in 1865, he remained one of the most intimate of Queen Victoria's advisers, and one of the most trusted and devoted among her relations.

Leopold had always a keen eye to the main chance ; just as he had refused the acceptance of the Grecian crown in 1830, because the island of Candia was excluded from the limits of the new kingdom of Hellas, so had he hesitated about assuming that of Belgium in 1831, until the Court of St. James had reassured him upon the matter of Limburg and Luxembourg. After the trouble in Holland and the defeat of Leopold and his wretched army of undisciplined, raw levies, first at Hasselt and then at Louvain, an event which was followed by Leopold's imprisonment there by the victorious Dutch, things altered for the better owing mainly to the good sense of the King of Holland. He saw clearly that he could make no further headway in the face of the Powers' determination to put an end to this war, and the Treaty of 15th November 1831 therefore was entered into. At home the king had to contend with the bitter and long-continued disputes between the Liberal and the Catholic Parties, which finally terminated in the anti-clerical riots and elections of 1858. The triumph of the Liberals all through these parliamentary struggles could not have been, however, wholly unwelcome to Leopold, since his Lutheran principles inspired distrust and dislike of the Roman Catholics. To his queen and her Catholic children the position was, however, rendered very painful, especially when the prominent members of their faith were publicly insulted and hooted whenever they showed themselves abroad.

After a reign of thirty-four years, Leopold died on the 10th December 1865. Notwithstanding the stormy experiences through which he had passed, there can be no doubt that Leopold was very deeply loved by his people, and much respected by the other sovereigns of Europe. To Queen Victoria, as already intimated, he was particularly dear, and he greatly influenced her by his great-mindedness and erudition. He was for some years a resident in England (at Claremont), where the Princess Charlotte, his wife, had died. For many years after he had left our shores he kept up a close correspondence with the late Queen Victoria, and paid her visits at frequent intervals. In September 1843 Queen Victoria paid a return visit to the Belgian royal family.

Leopold had shown by his gallantry in the war against Holland that he was as brave a soldier as he was shrewd a statesman. Some historians have not hesitated to refer to him as a 'model ruler.'

Charlotte's mother, Queen Louise-Marie of Bourbon-Orleans, was no less remarkable as a woman, being known throughout Europe as the 'Holy Queen.' A daughter of Louis Philippe, who before his accession to the throne of France was the Duke of Orleans, she had been brought up in the strictest seclusion and religious training. Both she and her sister, the Princess Marie (afterwards Princess of Würtemburg), were of very pious disposition and endowed with every feminine virtue, resembling, indeed, those saintly characters which, during the violence and bloodshed of the Middle Ages, revealed the blessed effect of higher influences. The death of the Princess Marie in 1839, shortly before the birth of Charlotte, undoubtedly brought on the mental malady from which the queen, her mother, died subsequently. The two sisters had been devotedly attached to one another, and, indeed, the young princess's untimely end was acutely felt by the whole of the royal family of France, by whom she was extremely beloved, although the people as a whole showed the most complete indifference to the sad event.

We are told by contemporary historians that her funeral cortége traversed all France, from Mont Cenis (she had died at Pisa, Italy), to the place of sepulture at the Château d'Eu, in Normandy, without one expression of condolence or sorrow either upon the part of the legislature or the people.

Such an event as this, coupled with the troublous times through which her family were passing politically, produced an extreme feeling of melancholy upon the Belgian queen, and it is somewhat remarkable that the young Princess Charlotte should have completely escaped the effects of this sombre influence, as she seems to have done. In 1850 the queen, who had then been for many years a confirmed invalid, died, and the princess, ten years old, found herself at the head of her father's household. The strict court etiquette and queenly dignity, amounting almost to austerity, which had been so constantly instilled into the young brain and heart, while no doubt making a lasting impression, were not permitted to interfere with her natural capacity for enjoying life. At this time, while still under the tutelage of her governesses and professors, Charlotte knew and practised thoroughly the involved but inviolable rules of court precedence and ceremonial, most of which she carried into rigorous effect during her brief rule over the imperial court of Mexico.

After her mother's death Charlotte became the constant companion of her father, for whom she entertained the deepest affection and reverence. Nothing that transpired in the stormy history of Belgium at this period escaped her attention or evaded her always shrewd criticism. Leopold frequently told her—half seriously and half jokingly—that she should have been a boy instead of a girl ; it is a fact that she displayed far more acumen than either of her brothers, Leopold, who was five years, or Philippe, Count of Flanders, who was three years her senior.

Charlotte was sixteen years old when the Paris Conference (1856) took place, by which the peace with Russia was settled. A great impression was made upon her mind by the attitude of Count Walewski towards the court of Belgium, which he held responsible for the flood of insulting *brochures* and newspaper articles which appeared at this time holding up the government of France to ridicule and contempt. By reason of her French origin Charlotte felt acutely the offensive references which were made, and the strained relations between her father's adopted people and those of her mother were not, unnaturally, a source of considerable trouble to her. Then, again, the violent discussions which took place between the Liberal Party and the Roman Catholics on the question of the administration of charities throughout the kingdom caused great mental distress to the princess, whose religious convictions and training at the hands of her saintly mother influenced her intensely throughout her own life.

Notwithstanding the fact that King Leopold had been married on 9th August 1832, to Princess Louise-Marie, by the Protestant minister, according to the rites of the Lutheran Church, to which Leopold himself belonged, the Bishop of Meaux held a second ceremony according to the Roman ritual, the queen being a strict member of that Church. It was in the Roman Catholic faith that her three children were brought up, and from which not one among them deviated in after life.

The year of 1857 was destined to prove the happiest in the life of Charlotte, for it was then that she met, and was won by, the young and fascinating imperial prince, Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, who alone among the many suitors who sought her hand attracted her attention. After a comparatively brief courtship, but one almost free from anxiety as to the ultimate issue, Ferdinand Maximilian and Charlotte were married with great ceremony in the historic cathedral of Sainte Gedule, at Brussels, on 27th July. At this wedding Prince Albert, the Consort of Queen Victoria, was present, and a description of the ceremony was published in all the principal London newspapers of that day.

At one time Charlotte's father had purposed giving her hand in marriage to King Pedro v. of Portugal, in which arrangement Queen Victoria took a prominent part. Writing to her uncle from Balmoral, on 19th September 1856, her late majesty said: 'For Portugal an *amiable*, well-educated queen would be an immense blessing, for there *never* has been one. I am sure you would be more likely to secure Charlotte's happiness if you gave her to Pedro, than to one of those innumerable archdukes or to Prince George of Saxony. Pedro should, however, be written to, if you were favourably inclined towards him.' It was Charlotte, however, who was disinclined, and whereas she married in the following year the man of her own choice—'one of those innumerable archdukes' to wit—Pedro of Portugal in the same year was married to the Princess Stéphanie of Hohenzollern.

During the seventeen years that she passed in her father's palace, Charlotte displayed every personal grace and feminine charm that a high-spirited but affectionate girl could possess; her brothers adored her, while her father, although but little given to affectionate demonstrations, both openly admired and petted her; among the members of the court there was hardly one but who would have made any sacrifice for her; the public learned to love her for her physical beauty, her natural charm, and her ever-ready sympathy with all who were in trouble or suffering.

Beyond these not unusual womanly attributes, Charlotte gave evidence of possessing a sound, shrewd judgment upon matters of policy which astonished her father and deeply impressed his advisers. There is no established record of the princess having been consulted by either the one or the other upon any important matter of state, but her contemporaries have placed it beyond doubt that Charlotte was regarded as an exceptionally brilliant correspondent, conversationalist, and critic. This, indeed, is clearly proved by her two published works descriptive of *A Winter in the Island of Madeira*, written in French during her residence there in the winter of 1857-58, when she was but eighteen years of age, and one year after her marriage, and *Souvenirs of a Voyage on board 'La Fantasie.'*

This book was published somewhat later, and those who may have read it will have observed the evidences of deep

FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO

thought which pervade its pages, such as one would hardly look for from the pen of a young and unsophisticated woman whose connection with the outside world had been necessarily restricted, and whose earlier years had been passed in an atmosphere almost conventual.

The fund of common sense and capacity for clear reasoning which the royal authoress herein displays seems to have aided her, moreover, on occasions in later times: the power of weighing difficult situations whereat she was merely a spectator was apparently unweakened when it came to playing a prominent part personally. Throughout her diary, however, Charlotte affords abundant evidence of her profound sympathy for human suffering, and this charitable feeling permeated her attitude all through her brief reign in Lombardy and subsequently in Mexico. No princess before or since has evinced higher principles of genuine womanhood as shown in numerous acts of kindness and charities dispensed.

Some historians, not even waiting with becoming decency until death shall have closed the singularly unhappy story of this lady, have described Charlotte as an ambitious and a proud woman, of indomitable obstinacy and of exaggerated ideas concerning her authority and political influence. Even the severest of her critics, however, and for the most part these have been found in Austria where she had never been popular, and especially at the court of Vienna where her extraordinary beauty and pride of bearing seemed to have made many enemies among her own sex, have been compelled to admit that she possessed peculiar endowments of ability, great political sagacity, unusual mental culture, and strong womanly character in the most impersonal and incidental manner. It was undoubtedly her strict training, her dominant spirit, and her constant insistence which enabled her to prevail over the weak, vacillating and easily-influenced Maximilian. If it was her ambition to become an empress and to control a court, at least she made a dignified and an upright ruler, as well as an indulgent and a considerate mistress. When it is remembered that court etiquette and queenly dignity were instilled into her mind from her girlhood, both by her mother, who, as has been seen, was a woman of extreme austerity and severity in the management of her children, and later by her father, a no less strict observer of decorum, it is not surprising that Charlotte should—upon her part—have insisted upon the most scrupulous observance of ceremonious procedure and social customs at the court of Mexico. But she was something more than a beautiful figurehead, and if she could play the rôle of imperial hostess to perfection, she could also, when occasion required, direct the trend of political affairs with a generally firm hand, and upon occasions with an unerring intelligence.

It is as unreasonable and unfair to accuse Charlotte of having been the indirect cause of Maximilian's misfortunes on account of an overweening ambition, as it is absurd to reproach her for not having divined that, had she but waited patiently for the coveted imperial diadem, it would have devolved upon her by the drama of circumstance. How was she, or any one else, to imagine that that tragedy of 30th January 1889, when the Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria took his own life, would place Maximilian in the direct line of succession ?

It has been by some critics ignorantly averred that Maximilian must have succeeded ; ignoring the fact that the Emperor Francis Joseph had, in 1863, insisted that Maximilian, before he took his departure for Mexico, should sign a deed of renunciation of the Austrian throne if it became vacant, an act which showed more clearly than anything that had preceded it the spirit of jealousy which the Emperor Francis Joseph entertained towards his younger and more popular brother. It is true that the Emperor Francis Joseph offered, at the time that Maximilian was in the hands of his enemies and under sentence of death, to re-install him in his position as heir to the throne ; but the offer meant little, since Maximilian was no longer able to profit by it.

The 'haughty reserve' of which Charlotte has been no less unjustly accused was probably nothing more than her intense love of meditation and her unconscious preoccupation. During the years of childhood her delight in solitary study and her joy in the company of books conduced to this exhibition of aloofness and independence : but it was fully compensated for by her earnestness of purpose and intense honesty. Her intimates, such, for instance, as the Countess Paula Kollonitz, who acted as her lady-in-waiting from the time of the departure of the imperial pair from Trieste (14th April 1864) until the end of the following November, has described the empress as 'capable of mastering with extraordinary quickness whatever she had read': as 'displaying a stern industry and a point of abstract attention which was much assisted by an excellent memory.' She was declared to be very quick at languages, writing and speaking German, English, Italian, and Spanish grammatically and with exceptional fluency.

During the long and monotonous voyage to Mexico (14th April-28th May), the newly-crowned empress put in the greater portion of the time at her writing-table, preparing for the future by working out the arrangements of the court and household, and in other useful employments which she cheerfully accepted from the hands of Maximilian.

CHAPTER III

Napoleon III.—His birth and early life—Queen Hortense—Napoleon's lofty ideals—His public services—The Duc de Morny—The Jecker affair—Napoleon's responsibility—Beginning of the French intervention—De Morny's career—Association with Napoleon—Unsavoury reputation—Dubois de Saligny—Napoleon determines upon Mexican expedition—His professed and real object—Evidence of selfish motives.

The Mexican expedition was but one of the several failures which distinguished the eighteen years' reign of Napoleon III., failures nearly all of which were brought about by his own incapacity as an administrator and his propensity for falling under the worst possible influences.

Notwithstanding his brilliant prospects from the time of his birth, Louis Napoleon can hardly be said to have passed a happy youth or a more contented manhood. The only surviving son of Louis Napoleon, King of Holland for a few short and troubled years, he was the direct heir and representative—since the death of the unhappy Duc de Reichstadt—of the great name and boundless inheritance of his celebrated uncle, Napoleon I. His mother was the Queen Hortense, who was known also as the Duchesse de St. Leu, and by her Louis Napoleon was immensely encouraged in the several and eventually successful attempts to create a revolution against Louis Philippe and in his own immediate favour.

For some years Napoleon and his mother had lived in Switzerland, and their residence, the Château d'Arenenburg, in the canton of Berne, was the centre of all the Napoleonic party, just as the duchesse's saloons in Paris had been the chief rendezvous of the Imperial party. A portion of the Republican party, by no means inconsiderable, also rallied around the dashing young prince and his ambitious mother; indeed, everything promised well for them and their projects. Within this privileged circle Napoleon was free to plan his attack and to dream his dreams of future grandeur, although he was not destined to see realised the more lofty ideals of government which he at one time entertained.

Writing in his *Rêveries Politiques*, we find him declaring: 'Je voudrais un gouvernement qui procurât tous les avantages de la République sans entraîner les mêmes inconvéniens, un Gouvernement qui fût fort sans être despotique, libre sans anarchie, indépendant sans conquêtes—le peuple ayant la souveraineté réelle et organisée comme source élective, comme contrôle, et comme rectification de tous les pouvoirs; deux Chambres composant le pouvoir législatif, la première élue, mais l'une exigeant certaines conditions de services rendues, ou l'expérience de la part des éligibles.'[1]

Such were the fixity of ideas and moral revolution cherished by Louis Napoleon, ideas which were undoubtedly characteristics of greatness and the heralds of either success or of ruin in this world. He gave many evidences of possessing the most exalted and noble sentiments, but his irresolute nature prevented him from putting them into practice even when favourable opportunity presented itself.

After six years of imprisonment in the castle of Ham and his escape therefrom (25th May 1846) to England for the second or third time, we learn of his offering his services to the Provisional French Government, only, however, to be snubbed and requested to immediately leave the country from which he had been previously banished; then of his slinking back, this time to be permitted to remain and even to stand as a political candidate; of his subsequent election as President of the French Republic, and eventually as its second emperor, for the empty rôle played by the young Duc de Reichstadt does not rank. In all three of these exalted positions Napoleon failed—failed to rule honestly, failed to redeem his promises to his friends; failed to retain a single minister who was strong and capable; failed to inspire the smallest amount of personal affection or confidence, and failed to leave upon the pages of history the impress of any one really great or noble deed, any memorable national service which could be considered as thoroughly successful and, at the same time, universally beneficial.

---

[1] *Rêveries Politiques*, 27, 49.

Such prestige as attaches to his name rests more in connection with the beautifying of Paris than contributing to the stability or aggrandisement of the country. It is true that he built some magnificent thoroughfares in his capital, that he contributed indirectly to the increase of wealth and the influence of the manufacturing and commercial classes, and that he expended huge sums of public money upon court gaiety and spectacular splendour; perhaps, even, he may be thanked for having promoted the important commercial treaty made between France and this country in January of 1860, an act which rendered him at least very popular over here. But against all this had to be recorded his weak and inconsistent attitude in connection with the Danish War of 1864; his undignified and fruitless truckling to Bismarck in connection with the struggle between Prussia and Austria in 1865; his ill-judged interference in Mexico and his unforgivable desertion of Maximilian, and his crowning absurdity—the war with Germany in 1870.

In reference to the Duc de Morny, Napoleon's illegitimate brother, it has been proved that the first idea of the Mexican expedition originated in the fertile brain of that disreputable person, who saw a chance of making an enormous profit out of the undertaking; his death prevented his scheme from realisation, at least in part. Napoleon was not a difficult subject to convince, and de Morny had always great influence—and that for bad—over him. M. de Saligny, appointed French Minister to Mexico, was one of de Morny's creatures, and enthusiastically supported the project. Additionally, the Empress Eugénie, always an ardent votary of romantic missions and an advocate for the Spanish descendants of Mexico, lent her invaluable aid to the suggestion, which was later put into execution.

It may be justly urged that Napoleon knew nothing of de Morny's sordid arrangements with the Swiss banker Jecker, by which the former was to receive thirty per cent. of the amounts recovered from the Mexican President. Had he been as enlightened as he was ignorant, however, it is difficult to believe that he would have resisted the combined pressure of his bastard brother, of his plausible wife, and of his cunning minister. Anyhow he closed his eyes to the consequences of this dangerous undertaking, and consoled himself with the reflection that he was fighting for the Church of Rome and for her privileges, which had been outraged by Juarez and his Liberal Government.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Duc de Morny died two years before the end of the monarchical régime in Mexico, this dishonourable and dissolute Frenchman had wielded great influence over Maximilian's career. Just as he correctly prophesied of Eugénie after he had seen her for the first time—'she will be Empress of the French,' so had he determined that, in spite of the first objections, Maximilian should be Emperor of Mexico.

The interest which de Morny displayed was accounted for by the fact that the Swiss adventurer, named Jecker, had advanced several millions of francs to Miramón, the then President of Mexico, at an usurious rate of interest, and when his successor Juarez refused (or was unable) to repay the amount, this precious scamp appealed to de Morny for assistance and advice. It was then that they conceived the idea of a Mexican expedition, which, if it did not result in the repayment of Jecker's loan, would at least afford opportunity for acceptable commissions and 'pickings' out of the heavy expenditure which would be involved. De Morny, therefore, added one more disgraceful act to his already sombre record.

That the Mexican Government under Benito Juarez was justified in refusing to recognise the bonds which had been issued by Miramón during his ephemeral administration as President, seems clear enough when the terms of the contract entered into between the latter and the usurer Jecker are recalled. Miramón, desperately pressed for money, agreed to the terms, burdensome though they were, because he could obtain the much-needed financial help from nowhere else. He consented to give Jecker national securities to the amount of fourteen millions of francs, in the form of Treasury-bonds, in order to obtain an advance of less than four millions of francs ; he, at the same time, replaced the Internal Mexican Debt Bonds by other bonds issued by Jecker, and amounting, according to Sir Edward Blount, who had a perfect knowledge of the transaction, to something like eighty million francs. Of the enormous amount of 'plunder' attached, the Duc de Morny was to receive his thirty per cent., providing he used his influence with his imperial brother, Napoleon III., to give his support. And this, as we know, he did.

It is worthy of note that the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, regarded this transaction in a wholly unfavourable light; he refused, notwithstanding the emperor's repeated representations and requests, to interest himself in the collection of the amount claimed from Mexico. Upon the retirement of M. Thouvenel from the department of Foreign Affairs, he was succeeded by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, who proved himself more pliable, acting entirely as the creature of M. de Morny and his partner Jecker in this discreditable affair. Lord John Russell did not conceal his disgust at the action of these individuals, while Sir Charles Wycke, the British Minister in Mexico, was equally emphatic in denouncing both the character of the claim and the methods adopted by the French Government for enforcing it.

Unfortunately for the French Government, which had endeavoured to conceal the real nature of the Jecker claim, a highly important letter came into the possession of the United States Government (how, it is unnecessary to inquire), this being an intercepted communication addressed to Jecker by his nephew, Luis Elsesser. In this communication, which is dated 'Paris, October 27th, 1862,' the writer, in addressing his 'Dear Uncle,' discloses the whole nature

GROUP OF MAXIMILIAN'S FAMILY IN 1860

THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH AND THE ARCHDUKES
MAXIMILIAN, CHARLES, AND LOUIS
TAKEN AT MIRAMAR

of the conspiracy which had been concocted between Jecker and the Duc de Morny, while he also mentions, under but thinly-disguised initials, the chief actors in the sordid drama, not excepting even the emperor himself. Considerations of space alone prevent the reproduction in full of this letter; but it exists in the archives at Washington, and can be referred to with great facility. Before dismissing the odious Jecker from further consideration, it may be added that he was publicly shot, in 1874, by the Communists of Paris, who held him as hostage.

The discreditable transaction entered into with Jecker was by no means the only unworthy exploit of which de Morny was convicted, for even in his diplomatic capacity he could not resist scandalous actions. Prince Bismarck, who had some acquaintance with the duc, described him as having been specially ingenious in making money in every possible way under the Empire. As an example he gave an account of de Morny's proceedings in St. Petersburg while acting as Special French Ambassador.

'He appeared there,' we are told, 'with a whole string of elegant carriages, some forty-three of them altogether, and all his chests, trunks, and boxes were full of laces, silks, and feminine finery, upon which, as ambassador, he had to pay no customs dues. Every servant had his own carriage, and every attaché and secretary had at least two. A few days after his arrival he sold off the whole lot by auction, clearing at least 800,000 roubles. He was a thief, but an amiable one.'[1]

While recording the circumstances of the Jecker loans, Sir Edward Blount deems that it was improbable that de Morny ever made any such terms as those quoted; yet there are other authorities who insist that he not only made such an agreement with Jecker, but that the letter, of 27th October 1862, which fell into the hands of the Washington authorities—intercepted by the postal department of the United States—and which was addressed to Jecker by his nephew, Luis Elsesser, amply proves it. Had Sir Edward Blount known of the existence of this communication he would, in all probability, have recorded an entirely different opinion.

---

[1] *Bismarck; Some Secret Pages of his History*, Dr. Moritz Busch p. 503.

The Comte (afterwards Duc) de Morny was an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense Beauharnais (Queen of Holland) and of General Comte de Flahault de la Billarderie, and consequently a bastard brother of Napoleon III. At the time of the Mexican expedition, de Morny was already fifty years of age and immensely rich, as a result of his speculations in railways, land, and receiving heavy illicit commissions. But he yearned for more; and this Mexican expedition seemed to afford exceptional opportunities for further enriching himself.

Thus the man who had planned and carried out the *coup d'état* of December 1857, who, as a reward for his unscrupulous conduct then, was made Minister of the Interior by his grateful friend and relative Napoleon, who had been elected to the post of President of the Corps Législatif (a position which he held to the last day of his life), and who acted as special ambassador at the coronation of Czar Alexander II. in 1857, descended to the sordid trick of inducing Napoleon to undertake this, from the first, hopeless and thankless Mexican task in order that he (de Morny) might profit to the extent of several millions of francs.

Contemporary historians have denounced de Morny as one of the most corrupt and despicable of the many unworthy creatures who surrounded Napoleon. That the latter was perfectly cognisant of his brother's character, and condoned his conduct again and again, there can be no doubt; on the other hand, as already pointed out, it is pleaded in his favour that he was unaware of the true object which de Morny had in view when he so strenuously advocated the Mexican expedition.

It has been alleged by more than one writer who knew de Morny personally, that he had little hesitation in admitting that he was the illegitimate son of Queen Hortense. When, as a result of his extravagance, display and colossal assurance, he obtained the hand of the Princess Troubetskoi (the reputed daughter of Czar Nicholas) in marriage, he jokingly observed : '*I* am a queen's son and an emperor's brother ; *she* is an emperor's daughter. It is all quite natural.'

De Morny has been described as having been the real creator of the third empire in France. It was he who, when Louis Napoleon was still President of the Republic which he had called into being, suddenly started the cry—'*Vive l'Empereur !*' This was the case at Lyons, where Maréchal Castellane was governor, the man who was so eccentric that 'he was in the habit of giving audiences while in his bath and with his *bâton* lying across him.'[1]

De Morny appears to have been almost as much liked by some as he was cordially hated by others. He is credited with having materially promoted the beet-sugar industry of France, and there is no doubt that he originated the now fashionable resort of Deauville, near to Trouville ; he was the founder of the Railway Club, of which he became the first president, and thus he became known to and apparently much liked by Sir Edward Blount. The latter seems to have judged the duc by his social qualities alone—qualities which were undoubtedly of a very high order, a fact which made his other peculiarities all the more glaring.

In spite of his reputation, his admitted dishonesty and his notorious mode of living, de Morny was created duc by Napoleon. But he lived to enjoy the title for three years only. He died, as a result of dissipation, in 1865, mourned by few and honoured by none. Readers of Victor Hugo's *L'Histoire d'un Crime* will recall the vivid and scathing sketch which he gives of de Morny, of whom the great French writer says : 'He combined a certain liberty of ideas with a readiness to accept useful crimes : he was dissipated, yet well concentrated ; ugly, good-humoured, ferocious, well-dressed, fearless ; willing to leave under lock and key one brother in prison, but willing to risk his head for another upon the throne ; conscienceless, irreproachably elegant, infamous and amiable—at need a perfect duke.'

---

[1] Recorded in *Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount, K.C.B.*, 1815-1902, see p. 154.

At no time was Napoleon's Mexican policy popular with the great mass of the French people, and he received many warnings of the seriousness of his action, had he but chosen to heed them. But Napoleon seldom devoted much consideration to the opinions of others, and still less to the wishes of his people ; all the grandiloquent professions to be found set forth in his publications, *Rêveries Politiques, Des Idées Napoléoniennes,* and other treatises, composed at a time when he was still struggling for political power and to supplant Louis Philippe, were completely forgotten when he once became emperor. Then, again, his jealousy of the part played by England and Spain in Mexico prompted him to join them, notwithstanding the hollowness of the claim put forward by France, and to continue the project alone after they had withdrawn.

As might have been expected, the Mexican question formed a fruitful and endless subject for the French newspapers while it lasted ; looking back through the columns of the leading journals of those days, journals which have long since ceased to exist, one is impressed with the absolutely unconscionable statements which were given currency without the slightest hesitation, and the numerous discreditable trickeries which were resorted to in order to deceive the public. Some of the most celebrated writers of the time lent themselves and their influential names to this unworthy business ; we constantly come across palpably inspired and no doubt liberally paid-for effusions in favour of the emperor's Mexican policy from the gifted pens of M. Paul de Cassagnac in *L'Opinion Nationale,* of M. Clement Duvernois in *La Liberté,* as well as of MM. Ad. Gueroult, H. Pessard, and Arthur Arnould.

The idea of a French expedition first appeared openly in a despatch from M. Dubois de Saligny, French Minister to Mexico, dated Mexico City, the 18th of April 1861. This despatch was as follows:

'In the state of anarchy, we might say of social decomposition, in which we find this unfortunate country, it is very difficult to foresee the turn events will take. One thing seems certain to me: it is impossible to remain *in statu quo*. Everything indicates that we are approaching a new revolution. In this situation it seems to me absolutely necessary for us to keep a material force upon the Mexican coast sufficient to protect our interests under all circumstances.

'It is only a question of a protective demonstration, somewhat negative, as is plainly to be seen, that diverts intervention rather than invites it.'

In his despatch of the 12th of June 1861, M. Dubois de Saligny intensifies his thought, making it more decisive. It is no longer a question of simple 'protection,' but one of reclamation by force. This despatch says:

'It remains for me to add, that I have little confidence in the new administration; that the position of this government appears to me so precarious that I believe more than ever in the necessity of taking immediate precautions to put ourselves in a condition to support by force, in case of need, the justice of our claims.'

Napoleon's personal responsibility for the Mexican expedition and its disastrous mismanagement has, as already stated, never been denied. Nor, indeed, could it have been in view of the overwhelming evidence which exists regarding the direction of affairs from day to day by the emperor himself. The voluminous documents which are available, relative to both official and private correspondence, bear unmistakable evidence of the feverish haste with which the expedition was conceived and carried out, and the fixed determination in the emperor's mind, when once he was convinced that he was not destined to realise either his dreams of colonial expansion or the restoration of the power of the Church of Rome in Mexico, to withdraw from the entanglement at any cost, even that of betraying the gallant young prince who had put his faith in his pledged word, and had entrusted his life into his hands. No one can peruse the many and often verbose communications which passed between the Courts of Versailles and Mexico in the period between 1863 and 1867 without experiencing a sentiment of something like revulsion at the palpably false and sanctimonious expressions which peered forth from beneath the French imperial professions of national necessity.

Many of the disingenuous despatches from Versailles might be cited as affording an indication of the emperor's anxiety to clothe his premeditated action of betrayal with as decent an exterior as possible. On 31st May 1866, after Maximilian, through many weary months of odious experience and bitter disillusionment, had ascertained definitely that he had all along been dealing with a trickster, and after he had despatched his special envoy, General Almonte, to Paris to present his case once more before Napoleon's consideration, a lengthy reply was sent to Maximilian's petition, in which we find such a sentence as this: 'However desirable might be the establishment of such a government (the monarchical), we, most of all, could not think of imposing it upon others, and we have always disavowed any such design.'

This expression came strangely from the man who persisted in the face of the withdrawal of both England and Spain, and their resolve not to force any foreign sovereign upon the Mexicans, unless these latter were unanimously in favour of it; from one of the two signatories of the Treaty of Miramar which stipulated for the placing and the maintaining of an Austrian prince upon the throne of Mexico. It needed a Bonaparte to frame such a thoroughly false sentence as this, one which could have deceived no one either in regard to its appropriateness or its honesty.

Again, in the same communication, the French emperor, after refusing to afford any further help either of a financial or a military nature to maintain Maximilian upon his tottering throne, consoles him with the empty assurance: 'He knew that he would not want for our help in aiding him to realise a work profitable to the whole world.' Words, words, not even sane words, but betraying the hypocrite and the dissimulator in every one of them.

It is interesting to recall some of the opinions entertained in Germany regarding the Mexican expedition and the impressions occasioned by the subsequent desertion of Maximilian by the French emperor. Prince Bismarck denounced the war in Mexico and the attitude adopted in 1866 as 'blunders.' He added: 'Doubtless in storming about as they do at present, the French feel conscious that they have committed yet another blunder.' Public opinion was reflected later in an article which appeared in the columns of the German newspaper *National Zeitung*, of 11th September 1870, which contained the following comment: 'Regarding our conduct towards the vanquished and imprisoned Emperor of the French (Napoleon III.), we take the liberty of asking by what right are we to punish him for the 2nd of December, the law of public safety, and the occurrences in Mexico, however much we may disapprove of these acts?'

If it is difficult to realise the nature of a man like Napoleon III., who, while deliberately following a certain undeviating course, persistently disclaimed such policy. Throughout the long correspondence which passed between Paris and Washington upon the subject of the Mexican intervention, the French emperor, both by personal assurances and by means of solemn utterances upon the part of his ministers, declared that no idea of territorial acquisition from, or any desire to force a particular form of government upon, the Mexican nation had entered, or would enter, his mind.

With the same pen he inscribed to his representative at Washington instructions to convey these assurances to the United States Government (which, however, never believed in them) and composed detailed orders to his commander-in-chief in Mexico to treat for the cession to France of certain rich territories located in the State of Sonora, as well as orders to 'compel the Mexicans to accept the imperial form of government instead of the republican.' There cannot have been two interpretations of these instructions, any more than there can have been two ideas of the emperor's real intentions.

We find Napoleon writing, over his own signature, in September of 1862, to General de Lorencez (then in command of the French expedition in Mexico) to the effect: 'It is contrary to my interest, my origin, and my principles to impose any kind of government whatever on the Mexican people; they may freely choose that which suits them best.' Upon what mission, then, was the French expedition in Mexico engaged, if it were not the imposition of a monarchy upon a people who, by an immense majority, had demanded to retain the republican form of government? Since Napoleon disclaimed any idea of territorial acquisitions in Mexico, why had one of his principal demands been the fulfilment of the disgraceful convention which had been made between the French Minister in Mexico and General Miramón (anterior to the arrival of Maximilian in the country), by which the immense States of Sonora and Sinaloa were to be practically given away to France? Why, moreover, did the French Emperor carefully instruct his representative, M. de Saligny, to treat with a certain Mr. William M. Gwin, who was supposed to be in the confidence of President Juarez, and who proposed that these two States should be made over to France in lieu of the cash compensation and indemnity for which she was pressing?

Distrustful as ever of those who laboured in his service, and suspicious of even his oldest servants, Napoleon had adopted the system of setting one spy to watch another, revelling in intrigues upon his own part and in discovering those conceived by others. Thus he had sent General Forey to spy upon M. de Saligny, as Saligny had been deputed to watch General de Lorencez. General Bazaine was commissioned to keep observation upon every one, and finally General de Castelnau had been despatched in October 1866 to watch and report upon the conduct of Bazaine. Incidentally he was instructed to interview Maximilian upon the question of abdication. The latter, however, firmly refused for a long time to meet Castelnau, and the commission to this extent failed.

In an official communication addressed to the Marquis de Monthalon (French Minister at Washington), dated 16th October 1866, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, the

LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS
FATHER OF THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE

THE ARCHDUCHESS SOPHIA OF BAVARIA
MOTHER OF MAXIMILIAN

FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA
ELDER BROTHER OF MAXIMILIAN

Marquis de Moustier, wrote : ‘General de Castelnau has for his mission to make it well understood that the limit of our sacrifices is reached, and that if the Emperor Maximilian, thinking to find in the country itself a sufficient support, may wish to endeavour to maintain himself there, he cannot in the future count upon any succour on the part of France. This seems to us to be destined to be received in the United States with real satisfaction.’ It certainly was.

CHAPTER IV

The ex-Empress Eugénie—Her birth and parentage—Her share in the Mexican expedition—Activity in organising arrangements—Sir Edward Blount's testimony—Heartlessness of conduct towards Maximilian and Charlotte—Unfriendly relations between herself and Napoleon—Her political ambitions.

Marie Eugénie de Guzman y de Porto-Carrero, Condesa de Teba and Marquesa de Moya, was born at Granada, Spain, on the 5th of May 1826. The empress was married to Napoleon III. in January of 1853, and, as he explained at the time, she was not of royal birth, although the daughter of an illustrious house. As a fact, Eugénie is a descendant of noble Scottish and Spanish families, and, equally by reason of her high qualities, personal attractions, and aristocratic lineage, she was deemed worthy of sharing a throne.

While there has never been the remotest doubt concerning the personal responsibility of Napoleon III. for the betrayal of Maximilian and, as a consequence, for his tragic fate at the hands of his enemies, some uncertainty has existed as to the precise amount of culpability which should be apportioned to the ex-Empress Eugénie. It is said that in 1862-63 serious differences existed between Napoleon and his wife, and that for long periods they were hardly upon speaking terms; but there is no question that Napoleon consulted with Eugénie concerning the Mexican expedition and the offering of the crown to Maximilian.

An entirely independent and dependable witness respecting the responsibility of the Empress Eugénie for the Mexican affair is found in Sir Edward Blount, the distinguished Englishman who effected so much for British commercial interests in France over a period of sixty years. He mentions that, just before the outbreak of the

Mexican War, two bishops from the Republic called upon him, having letters of introduction from a close personal friend of the Empress Eugénie. They told him that they had come because 'he had succeeded in raising several large sums of money in years gone by for the Papal Government.'

'They wanted to know,' continues Sir Edward, 'whether it would be possible to obtain from my clients who had subscribed to such loans, subscriptions to a Mexican loan, to aid an invasion of Mexico by the French in order to put Maximilian, the younger brother of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, upon the throne. This scheme, which was favoured by the idea that, if Mexico was conquered, French interests—and therefore Catholic power—would be predominant, had the strong support of the Empress Eugénie. I was convinced that no satisfactory reply would be got from the subscribers for the Papal loans, and therefore declined the invitation to finance the expedition.'[1]

It is not without importance to recall that practically every other independent contemporary writer, of French or other nationality, has held Eugénie responsible for the consequences attending the Mexican campaign. If Napoleon was seeking for pecuniary gain or political kudos, Eugénie was no less zealous on behalf of the Catholic Church and the re-establishment of its tyrannical dominance in Mexico—a dominance from which the Liberal Government under Benito Juarez and his prodecessors had almost succeeded in rescuing it.

With the masses of the French people the Mexican War was distinctly unpopular, and perhaps for this very reason Eugénie, with her naturally perverse disposition, the more warmly espoused it. M. Rouher, the famous minister of Napoleon III. and also the devoted toady of Eugénie, commonly known in France as the 'Vice-Emperor,' described the Mexican adventure as 'the greatest enterprise of his reign,' but other and more reliable statesmen have denounced it unsparingly.

---

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount, K.C.B.*, 1815-1902, pp. 150 *et seq.*

Two sinister influences combined to damage the enterprise in public opinion. The Church party and the speculators, for whom the Duc de Morny acted, were its chief supporters; and from the time that the French expedition parted company with the Spaniards and the English, and made war to establish a Catholic empire in the place of the Spanish republic, they alone defended it. The Empress Eugénie was even then blamed very severely for the eager and thoughtless support which she lent to this project, until failure appeared inevitable. Then she withdrew from any active encouragement, brushed from her memory all her own and Napoleon's faithful promises to the too-credulous Maximilian and his ambitious wife, and forbade any one to mention the subject of the French withdrawal in her presence.

During the earlier period of acrimonious discussion between the Court of Versailles and Mexico, when Maximilian was painfully awakening to the deep-laid treachery of his quondam friend Napoleon, the Empress of the French was amusing herself and pursuing her triumphal and extravagant course through Europe. After her meteoric appearance in 1863 at the Court of Spain, Eugénie returned to Paris, only to set off the following year (1864) for Schwalbach (Germany), ostensibly for the benefit of her health—which, however, was thoroughly sound—but really to escape from the importunities of the Mexican sovereigns who were addressing anxious communications, both official and private, to Napoleon respecting the position of their finances and the more faithful observance of the Treaty of Miramar. Indeed, the subject of finance began at this time to be a question of life and death to the infant empire, and neither Napoleon nor Eugénie ever liked being asked for money.

Maximilian, like most other men who fell beneath the spell of Eugénie's beauty and rare charm of manner, thoroughly believed in her good faith, and when the severe measures emanating indirectly from the Tuileries became known to him, he addressed a letter of frank remonstrance to the French empress, a remonstrance which met with no acknowledgment and attracted no other attention. Even as late as 9th January 1867, Maximilian appears not to have altogether abandoned his confidence in Eugénie's sympathy and goodwill towards him, and a private letter exists which shows that at this date he had received renewed promises of an encouraging nature from the French empress, which, however, merely served to deceive him further. Of this letter Maximilian spoke upon several occasions to his intimates, observing that its receipt 'had greatly comforted him.' In this Eugénie wrote nothing concerning the insane Charlotte, and made no reference to the unfortunate and painful interview at Saint Cloud, the issue of which had been influenced—if not directly incited—by Eugénie herself.

As has been mentioned, while uncongenial relations had existed for some time between Napoleon and Eugénie, they had long been of the same mind concerning the Mexican expedition, and were frequently in consultation respecting the safeguards to be determined upon by France. In 1866 the French sovereigns became better friends, especially after Napoleon's return from Algeria; during his absence Eugénie had acted as Regent for the second time.

It was then that the growing influence of the empress in French politics manifested itself. She was suspected of preparing for a future in which Napoleon would have little part. If his increasing infirmities necessitated an early retirement from public life, Eugénie, it was thought, might naturally expect to hold the Regency until the majority of her son. Physically and morally the emperor was a worn-out man, but she was still in her prime. Sometimes at the Council Board she embarrassed the ministers by expressing opinions directly opposed to her husband's. M. de Persigny, the intimate ally of the Duc de Morny, sent to Napoleon a letter in which he earnestly remonstrated against 'this feminine interference,' a letter which—as ill-luck would have it—fell into the hands of the empress, and occasioned one of her periodical outbursts of hysterical anger.

Thus it is clear that for what took place in Mexico, Eugénie must be held as culpable as Napoleon himself—if not more so, since hers was the master-mind which directed the policy of withdrawal of the French troops, the stoppage of further financial aid to the impoverished court and the refusal to afford that State aid for which the unhappy Charlotte had pleaded so piteously at Saint Cloud.

It is not difficult—when one remembers the peculiar disposition of the Empress Eugénie—to understand why the misfortunes of Maximilian and the importunities of Charlotte commenced to weary her, nor why she banished both from her consideration. Dr. F. Barthez, physician to the young Prince Imperial, who had passed many years at the French Court, and knew the empress perhaps better than any of his contemporaries, has told us in his book entitled *The Empress Eugénie and her Circle*, that her majesty had a horror of any physical or mental suffering, and always shunned it. ‘It also happens,’ he adds, ‘that she sometimes gets carried away by a double feeling, and then she becomes unjust, and forgets humanity and goodness which are really hers.’

An example of Eugénie’s curious temperament is then afforded. The same authority declares : ‘I have heard her breathing flames and perdition against a man who thought of presenting to Biarritz an establishment for the treatment of poor scrofulous children. “Did you ever hear such an idea ?” she cried, “a nice advertisement for my poor Biarritz! Who would ever come here if at every step we were to meet lame or disfigured invalids ?” I, myself, was vigorously reproved for having had the audacity to say that the collection of bathing-huts was inconvenient and unhealthy, and that it should be improved. It was nothing to her that Biarritz should be a healthy and beneficial locality in which invalids might come in search of health. . . . She has the egoism of pleasure as she has the horror of suffering.’

If these observations are founded upon fact, they would serve to explain the cold and repellent attitude adopted by Eugénie to her suffering sister Charlotte, both at the time of her appeal to Napoleon for succour and, subsequently, when her mental sufferings had produced insanity. It is not upon record that, from the hour that Charlotte had rushed demented from the presence of Napoleon at Saint Cloud Eugénie had expended a single thought upon her, or had made the slightest inquiry concerning her sad condition.

The strangely diverse susceptibilities which actuated Eugénie were never more clearly exemplified than in the early months of 1867. Both she and Napoleon were visiting the north of France at this time : cholera was raging in Amiens and the surrounding districts. Nothing could have been more noble or devoted than Eugénie's conduct at this trying period, and never during her seventeen years' as Empress-Consort had she come nearer to the hearts of the French people. Wherever she went she was greeted with cries of : '*Vive la Sœur de Charité :*'—'*Vive l'héroïne d'Amiens !*'

And yet this same tender-hearted woman had only a short time previously turned a deaf and unsympathetic ear to the pleadings of her unfortunate sister, Charlotte of Mexico, and whom she had witnessed plunge from the height of ambitious hope into the abyss of mental despair as the consequence of her treatment at the hands of the Court of the Tuileries. Assuredly never were the vagaries of woman and the uncertainty of her temperament more vividly illustrated.

The year of 1867—a year which proved so fatal to all the hopes and to the very existence of Maximilian—was the year of the Great Exhibition of Paris. Eugénie and Napoleon were reigning over a world capital, and receiving the mightiest monarchs of Europe as their guests. What recked they of the Empress Charlotte, demented by her griefs and trials—of the imperial prisoner of Queretaro, whose days were even then fast running out as the sands in the time-glass ?

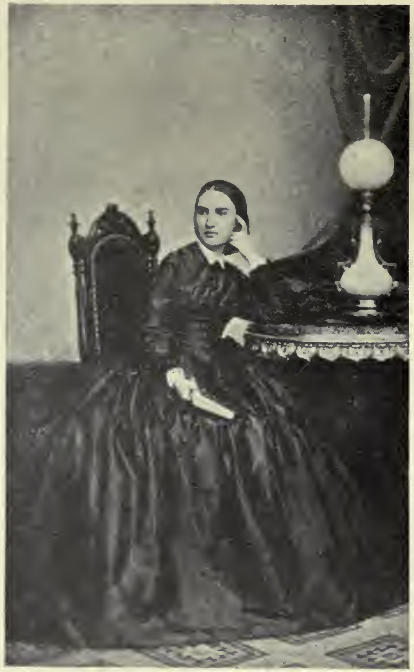
All through April and May the festivities went on in the gay city—all through those months the peril for Maximilian was becoming greater and greater. Yet hardly a Paris night in June but witnessed its glittering public pageant, its dazzling court ceremony, its sumptuous imperial ball.

Even the alarming and unexpected attempt upon the life of the Russian Sovereign, as he drove with his two sons through the Bois de Boulogne, did not disturb for long the serenity of this gala time. Strange that the assassin's shots which rang out in Paris upon that eventful day, when the Emperor Alexander so nearly lost his life, were so soon to be followed, many thousand miles away, by the rattle of musketry which was to pronounce an end to the imperial régime in Mexico.

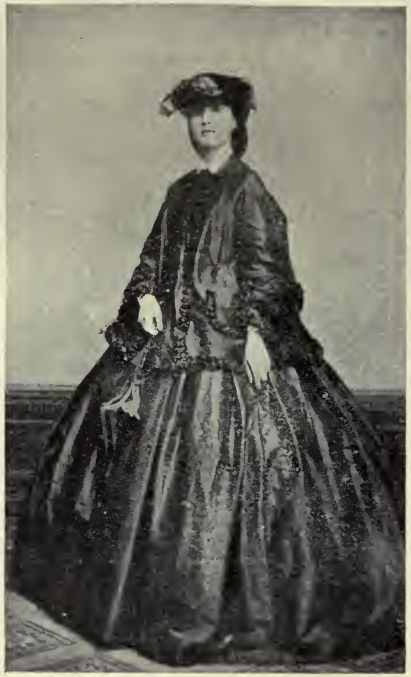
But it was destined that this grim tragedy was to be brought home to its real authors dramatically yet. While a profound gloom was settling over the Austrian Court—at last awakened to the danger of the Emperor Maximilian, a danger in which his relatives and their entourage for so long affected to disbelieve—while the sounds of revelry were at their loudest in Paris—came the stunning news that Maximilian had actually been shot.

On 14th June, amid demonstrations of popular enthusiasm, the King of Prussia had taken his departure from the French capital, into which he was destined to enter once again as its conqueror some three years later. Five days afterwards the tragedy of Queretaro was enacted. Then remorse—'that hell within him' as Milton has described it—came to Napoleon, and presumably, if in a lesser degree, to his wife Eugénie. Consternation seized the Court of Versailles, and notwithstanding that there remained many distinguished guests to be entertained, including among them the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Asiz, a certain display of imperial commiseration and grief had to be exhibited. But it was too late either to remedy the evil or to countermand the many public ceremonies which had been arranged in connection with the Paris Exhibition, the crowning event, the distribution of prizes, being underlined for the day of 1st July.

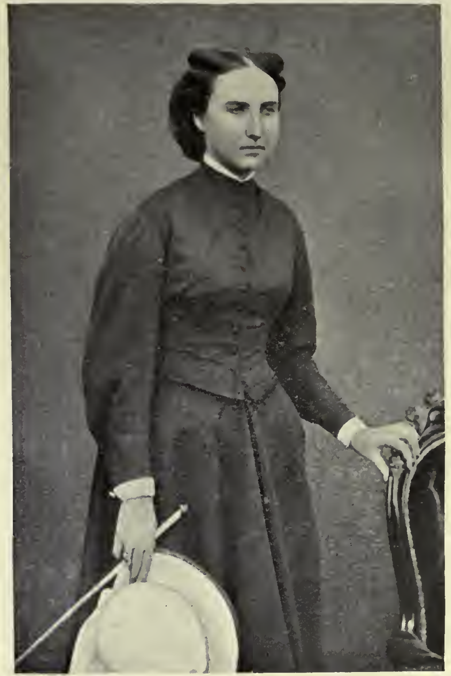
Loud and deep were the murmurings of horror and reproach when the public became aware at length of the tragic end of the Emperor Maximilian. Every one recognised how completely and how basely he had been betrayed by Napoleon and his servile creature the Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys, who had also been used by the emperor to deceive



CHARLOTTE AT THE AGE OF 17
THE YEAR OF HER MARRIAGE



CHARLOTTE AT THE AGE OF 20



CHARLOTTE AT THE AGE OF 26
THE YEAR THAT SHE LEFT MEXICO

Charlotte, upon her seeking for an interview with Napoleon, first by false assurances that 'his majesty was too ill to receive her,' and then that 'he had left Saint Cloud'—both of which statements were entirely untrue.

The expressions of popular anger at this evidence of Napoleon's treachery were characteristically French in their irresponsibility. Whereas the greater part of the Cabinet had been opposed to the French troops remaining any longer in Mexico, and clamoured for their return—thus leaving Maximilian at the mercy of the Liberals in that country—they were now among the first to express dismay and indignation when the consequences of that demand were found to have entailed the sacrifice of Maximilian's life.

The whole of Europe also at last recognised that the Austrian archduke had been the dupe of the French emperor: France blamed Napoleon no less strenuously for the sacrifice of six thousand of her sons who had left their bones to bleach upon Mexican soil. The War Minister had grandiloquently declared one day in the Chamber: 'Our soldiers do not count their enemies before they go into battle, and after the battle they do not count their dead,' a statement which drew forth from the aged Berryer the reply: 'No; our soldiers count not their dead, but there are here in France many bereaved mothers, wives, and daughters who have counted them with bitter heart-rendings.'

CHAPTER V

Spanish ambition in Mexico—Lord John Russell's opinions—Convention of London—Conflicting views of the Allies—Attitude of the United States—Mr. Seward's despatches—Minister Thomas Corwin—French pretensions denounced—M. Dubois de Saligny—Relations between Great Britain and the United States—M. Thouvenel's policy—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière's instructions—Arrival of allied forces in Mexico—First proclamation—General Prim (Count Reuss).

It is not difficult to divine the real cause of Spain's co-operation in this Mexican undertaking, since she must have entertained some ulterior hope of regaining possession of Mexico among other of her former American colonies, which one by one had been lost to her. Foreseeing an ultimate military success, and relying upon the natural preference among the Spanish-speaking people of Mexico for a Spanish ruler—if any foreigner had to be accepted—Queen Isabella's Government entered readily into the operations contemplated, Señor Mon, the Spanish Ambassador to France, exhibiting the keenest interest in the carrying-out of this project from the day when it was first mooted, that is to say as far back as 1858.

On the 24th November of that year, the Spanish Ambassador addressed a 'feeler' to Count Walewski, the French Ambassador, upon 'the necessity of establishing a strong power and government in that country.' At this time the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs was Señor Calderon Cervantes, who was no less hopeful of the result of the expedition; he assured Señor Mon, who was pressing him to take active steps, that, 'while he shared his views, moral and purely diplomatic means were sufficient.' Señor Mon was instructed to proceed to Paris in order to sound the French

Government upon the matter, and he had little difficulty in inducing M. Thouvenel, the French Premier, that force alone would be likely to secure any result. So easily was the argument won, that Señor Calderon Cervantes was able to reconsider his panacea in the simple form of 'moral and purely diplomatic means'; he now entered boldly into a scheme for armed interference, which he forthwith despatched to Paris and London (24th May 1860) for consideration. While the French Cabinet received the suggestion with favour, the English Government regarded it as premature, and Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, absolutely refused his consent.

Lord John Russell was at no time very enthusiastic regarding this enterprise, and in his despatch to the Spanish Government of 23rd September 1861, he requested that no definite action should be commenced before France and Germany had further considered the matter and notified their acquiescence. Then, again, Napoleon's great idea regarding the establishment of a second empire in Mexico with an Austrian prince as the sovereign by no means pleased the Queen Isabella of Spain, although this view was not actually presented until some time later. It was desired that the choice of a monarch should be made by the Mexicans themselves, and this in effect was said to have been brought about by the diplomatic manœuvrings of M. de Saligny, as we shall see proved in due course.

The Spanish Minister-Plenipotentiary in London (Don Xavier de Isturiz y Montero, who afterwards signed the Convention of London, of 31st October 1861), after seeing Lord John Russell upon the matter, wrote to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs (Señor Calderon Cervantes) as follows:

'In effect to-day (27th April) Lord John Russell, asked as to the kind of assistance which might be expected from England, laconically informed me that while he did not repel our proposal, he could not entertain any idea that force should enter into the execution of the project. In a second interview, I insisted upon some more definite assurances, when Lord John explained to me that, on their part, England will exact the fullest protection for those professing the Protestant religion, to which I replied that in that case England must not expect any co-operation upon the part of Spain.'

Even from the French Cabinet there came subsequently a more cautious and peaceable rejoinder to the Spanish proposals. M. Barrot, when French Minister to Spain, writing to the Premier in the name of his Government, stated: 'It is understood that the measures in question shall have an entirely friendly character, and that they shall exclude the idea of recourse to any means of material coercion.'

It is reasonable to assume that, but for the feeling of jealousy which existed between England and France at the Court of Madrid, the former, notwithstanding the justice of her claim for compensation and a settlement of the outstanding debt, would not have joined in the Mexican expedition at all. Just as this sentiment had prompted England to throw her weight into the Radical scale in 1840 in order to counteract the growing French influences with Queen Christina (Regent of Spain during the minority of her daughter Isabella I.), so did it dictate Lord John Russell's hitherto irresolute policy regarding this occasion.

In a communication addressed to his Government at Washington (15th March 1862) by Mr. Horatio J. Perry, the United States Minister to Spain, he points out that the Spanish Court were endeavouring to bring about a marriage between the Count of Flanders (younger son of Leopold I., King of the Belgians) and the eldest daughter of the Duc and Duchesse de Montpensier, the latter being a sister of Queen Isabella, with the idea that the throne of Mexico should be offered to them. On 31st January previous, Lord Crampton, the British Minister at Madrid, had informed Lord John Russell that he had been approached upon the subject, and had been asked whether the Prime Minister 'was disposed to entertain the candidature of the Count of Flanders,' to which Lord John Russell curtly replied that 'he entertained the candidature of *no one*.'

It may be questioned whether, had Lord John Russell (he became 'Earl' in 1861) been in power at the time of the Mexican *débacle*, his efforts to save the life of Maximilian would have proved successful. It will be remembered that this great statesman's last term of office proved to be very brief, for whereas he formed a cabinet in October 1865, upon the death of Lord Palmerston, his ministry was defeated in the following June (1866) on the Reform Bill which had been introduced, and that he then retired permanently from public life. His successor, Lord Derby, appeared to be far from sympathetically inclined, while the Foreign Secretary, Edward Henry Stanley (afterwards the fifteenth Earl of Derby) was even less so. Both the British and the Spanish governments determined that they would render no assistance in forcing a monarchical government upon the Mexicans against their will, and thus Maximilian was regarded by them as an intruder.

Napoleon was unable to realise that any government imposed upon the Mexican people by a foreign Power must prove transitory, or that the wholehearted co-operation of the Mexicans themselves was likely to prove the only basis upon which a stable administration could be built-up and maintained in that country. Both England and Spain adopted this view, and thus it was that France was finally allowed to pursue her adventure alone.

The Convention of London [1] (signed on the 31st of October 1861, as already mentioned) was a tripartite agreement entered into between France, Spain, and England, and which had been determined upon to compel Mexico to fulfil the obligations already 'solemnly contracted,' and to give a guarantee of a more efficient protection for the persons and property of their respective countrymen. It consisted of five articles, and bore the signatures of General the Comte de Flahault, representing France; Don Xavier de Isturiz y Montero, representing Spain; and the Earl Russell, who signed for England.

The governments who were parties to the Convention undertook to despatch both land and marine forces to the coast of Mexico, sufficiently powerful to seize and occupy different military positions, and certain fortresses on the littoral, situated either upon the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean, and to take any steps which they considered necessary to assure the safety of foreign residents. It was stipulated that in carrying out these measures no territorial seizure was to be made, nor would any particular advantage be seized by any one among the three Powers, nor any interference be made with the interior affairs of Mexico. The whole Treaty appears in the end to have been drawn up and signed in a desperate hurry, for nothing definite in regard to action is specified, the conditions being particularly vague and of an altogether indeterminate character. The Allied Powers were not agreed before the signatures were attached, and they openly disagreed afterwards. Apparently they were of opinion that once the Expeditionary Corps had reached Mexico, matters would arrange themselves; and inasmuch as each of the three had reserved the right of individual action and liberty, the vague terms in which the Convention was framed had been adopted probably by both England and Spain with but little desire to carry them into execution.

---

[1] See Appendix I.

So far as the justice of the claims made by the three Powers against Mexico is in question, it may be as well to recall the views of Mr. Thomas Corwin, the United States Minister in Mexico, who, in the course of an official letter, dated 20th March 1862, addressed to Mr. W. H. Seward, United States Secretary of State, says:

'I speak from a very careful investigation made by myself when I say that the money demands of England are in the main, if not altogether, just. I am not surprised that her patience is exhausted. Those of France are comparatively small, very small, so far as they arise out of previous treaties, and those depending on claims of more recent date—and not included in former treaties—are as presented so enormously unjust as to be totally inadmissible as to the amounts claimed. The Treaty with Spain made by General Almonte is said to be an outrageous fraud, but I know nothing of the facts except from a report too vague to be relied upon.'

It will have been observed that, according to Mr. Thomas Corwin, the demands which had been advanced by France were deemed 'abnormally unjust,' and that some of the amounts claimed for compensation to French subjects who had been injured were 'totally inadmissible'; it will, therefore, be necessary to examine more closely into some of these claims as set forth by M. de Saligny, the French Minister to Mexico, upon instructions from his Government.

Those for whom compensation was claimed included a tailor in Mexico City, who had been wounded before the door of his house by a dagger thrust; a bootmaker who had been assailed by some individual and seriously wounded because he refused to deliver up the money which he carried; the relatives of a Frenchman who was assassinated at Puebla, and whose murder was attributed to the Mexican police; a hotel-keeper who had been robbed upon two occasions at Palmar, and a number of other French subjects who had been robbed, tortured and ill-treated at various times and in various parts of the Republic.

Even M. de Saligny, while officially preferring these claims upon behalf of the victims, had written to his Government in Paris to the effect that he considered some of them trivial, 'and such as should not be made the subject of diplomatic representations,' inasmuch as they were mostly the result of the acts of brigands, for which the Mexican Government could and should not be held responsible.

Nevertheless the French Government demanded from Mexico compensation to the extent of no less than 12,000,000 pésos, a figure which was afterwards reduced to 10,000,000 pésos, an estimate which even the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, in a letter which he addressed to M. de Saligny (28th February 1862), considered 'exaggerated.'

The suspension of the foreign debt payments by Juarez's impoverished Government had afforded the opportunity sought for; and here the three debtors—France, England, and Spain—had common cause for active interference, notwithstanding the existence of the Monroe Doctrine which, at this time, was not very seriously considered by any one among them. Acting together by prearrangement, the allied Powers instructed their respective Ministers (M. de Saligny for France, Sir Charles Wycke for England, and General Prim for Spain) to leave Mexico simultaneously unless immediate satisfaction was afforded.

After the Convention of London had been signed by the three representatives of Great Britain, France and Spain, the Powers despatched their expeditions to Mexico. These were composed as follows:—Great Britain contributed at first a naval force of two ships, four frigates, a proportional number of vessels of a lighter class, and a detachment of seven hundred marines as a landing-party. The British forces at first were under the command of Vice-Admiral Milnes.

The Spanish expedition under General Prim (the Count Reuss) numbered six thousand, and the French preliminary force of three thousand was under the command of Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière.

It may be here pointed out that while Great Britain and France were each separately represented by a military or naval leader as well as by a diplomatic envoy, Spain found one representative, charged with a dual authority, sufficient. Sir Charles Wycke as the British Minister, and M. Dubois de Saligny as the French Minister accredited to Mexico, had their functions clearly defined, so as not to allow them to interfere with the duties which had been specially allocated to the expeditionary commanders, Vice-Admiral Milnes and Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière respectively.

M. Dubois de Saligny had been armed with extensive powers, but he grossly misused them. He brought more trouble to the French arms by his deliberate lying and misdirections than even the Mexican enemy could have effected;

CHARLOTTE IN 1864
AFTER DECLARATION AS EMPRESS AT MIRAMA

CHARLOTTE UPON HER ARRIVAL
IN MEXICO

CHARLOTTE IN 1866
THE YEAR OF HER DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE

especially was he to blame for the misfortunes attending the first attack upon Puebla by the French troops, an offence for which neither the emperor nor the luckless General de Lorencez—the direct victim of M. de Saligny's unfounded optimism—ever forgave him.

Lord John Russell, who had entered into the project of the expedition with manifest reluctance, issued very clear instructions through Sir Charles Wycke to the Commander of the British Force, these directions bearing date 1st November 1861. The Foreign Minister wrote :—'You will observe with the utmost rigour the articles laid down in the Convention which contain the undertaking to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Mexico, nor attempt to in any way deprive them of the right to choose their own form of government.'

When he learned that the French Commander's instructions contained the order to advance upon Mexico City, Lord John, in a further letter, dated 15th November, reminded the British minister that no such directions were contained in the instructions sent to the British expeditionary corps, and no operations of this kind were to be permitted. With this provision, the English commander was to act in co-operation with the French and Spanish commanders, and all representations made to the Mexican Government should be in the joint names of the three Powers.

It was about this time (7th November) that the over-zealous action of an American naval officer, in taking the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, out of a British mail-steamer sailing between two neutral ports, almost precipitated a collision between the United States and Great Britain. Although the envoys were eventually given up, all precedents being against the United States, a very sore sentiment was occasioned, and Lord John Russell was very anxious to avoid rendering the ill-feeling between the two nations still more acute by any unnecessarily aggressive action in Mexico. Before the expedition reached Mexico, therefore, he materially altered its strength and formation, diminishing the number of ships and keeping Vice-Admiral

Milnes at his post on the North American Station, replacing him by the appointment of Commodore Hugh Dunlop, who was given charge of the now much reduced British expeditionary force.

Lord John Russell's continued hesitation and unconcealed disinclination regarding the Mexican expedition were fully shared by the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston; both deeply distrusted Napoleon, and not without reason. In relation to another matter, Lord Palmerston had but recently declared that 'the French emperor's mind seemed as full of schemes as a warren was full of rabbits'; and while allowing for the deep-rooted prejudice which Lord Palmerston always entertained against, and took no pains to conceal from, Napoleon and his representative at the Court of St. James, there seems to have been sound justification for the Prime Minister's adoption of these views. Moreover, his opinions regarding both the French emperor and his Mexican enterprise were well understood by Juarez, who did not fail to profit by his knowledge. When England, in conjunction with Spain, withdrew from the expedition, Juarez was in no way surprised, since he had counted upon this and had moulded his policy upon such a development from the commencement of the negotiations.

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs at this time was still M. Thouvenel, and it was he who chose Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière to take charge of the French expedition. The Admiral's instructions were not very full, among them being contained the following negative clause: 'The Allied Powers decline any interference in the domestic affairs of the country, and especially any exercise of pressure on the will of the population with regard to their choice of a government.'

It is as well at the outset to recollect these instructions, because, as the history of the French expedition is unfolded, it will be seen that neither de la Gravière, nor any other among the French officers from first to last, seems to have regarded the instructions as of serious import; nor, indeed, would it have been possible for the expedition to have effected any decided result in Mexico had such instructions been acted upon literally. Without the exercise of ‘pressure’ upon the Mexicans, it would have been a physical impossibility to impose any kind of government upon the people other than that of a Republic, and the inclusion of this direction in the Admiral's orders could only have been intended as a mask to conceal the secret aim of the French intervention.

Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière's instructions were framed in and issued from the Tuileries, and bore date 11th November 1861. They directed him to occupy the Mexican ports and to hold them until the outstanding questions between the Republic and the three Powers had been completely settled. The customs houses were to be seized and the revenues appropriated in the names of the Allies. In the event of the port authorities offering no resistance, or the Mexican Government declining to treat, the troops were not to allow themselves to be foiled by any such expedient, but were to land, and, after a few days' stay at the port, to remove up-country so as to avoid the deadly danger arising from the fever-laden atmosphere of Vera Cruz. These instructions, after confirming the British stipulation as to non-interference with the rights of the Mexican nation to elect its own government in its own manner, concluded with the ominous words: ‘The French Government admits that it may become necessary to advance the troops to Mexico City.’

No such timidity or reluctance as that displayed by Lord John Russell characterised the action of the Spanish Government. Immediately the suggestion emanating from the Tuileries, that the French troops should advance to Mexico City, was received, the Spanish Cabinet gave its consent, and through Count Walewski, the French Ambassador to the Court of Madrid, expressed its satisfaction and approval. (6th November 1861.)

In the instructions sent to General Prim, the same cautious remarks were made respecting the danger of remaining for any length of time upon the miasmic coasts of Mexico, and recommending an early advance up-country. The Spanish commander was told 'to go and find the Mexican Government' and 'impress upon it the necessity of complying with the demands of the Powers,' an ultimatum from Spain having been lodged with the Juarez Cabinet as far back as the 11th of September. General Prim was also confidentially informed of the true intentions of the Tuileries Cabinet (he admitted this later in a forcible speech which he delivered before the Cortés in 1863), namely the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico with a nominee of the Emperor Napoleon on the throne. This apparently was Napoleon's idea of 'permitting the Mexicans to elect their own government in their own way.'

The first meeting of the three commanders took place on the 17th December 1861, at Havana, Cuba. On the 2nd January 1862 the French and the remainder of the Spanish expeditions left the island for Vera Cruz, Commodore Dunlop having sailed a few days previously. Five days afterwards the three forces arrived opposite the port; the French troops were the first to disembark, although, as already mentioned, a portion of the Spanish corps had landed some days before.

This was a particularly bitter blow to the patriotic Mexicans, who were gallingly reminded of the old colonial days, when Spain was still complete mistress of the Latin-American countries, and a cruel, tyrannical ruler she had proved herself. The fact of French and English troops landing upon Mexican soil was bad enough; but the presence of their ancient enemies and heavy oppressors, the Spanish, was doubly hard to bear.

Immediately after their assembly before Vera Cruz, the three commanders met in conclave, M. de Saligny and Sir Charles Wycke being summoned by General Prim to take part in the conference.

Conjointly they drew up a flamboyant and lengthy manifesto addressed to the Mexican people, of which the following is a translation. The original, in the Spanish language, was composed by General Prim, a Catalonian by birth.

'Mexicans!' (it begins).

'The representatives of England, France, and Spain are but fulfilling a sacred duty in making known to you their intentions at this moment of entering the territory of your Republic. The treaty rights which have been trampled under foot by your different governments, which have of late succeeded one another rapidly in this country, the insecurity of your compatriots who are placed in continual peril, have rendered this expedition indispensable. You have been deceived, however, by those who have dared to tell you that behind our just and reasonable demands there lurk any ideas of conquest, of inspired restoration, or of forcible intervention in your political and administrative interests. The three Powers which have loyally accepted and acknowledged your independence have the right to ask that they should not be suspected of any illegitimate or unworthy mental reservation, but rather that you should be inspired by their noble sentiments of magnanimity and nobility towards you.

'The three nations which we have the honour to represent, and whose sole object it may seem to you is to obtain redress for the injuries which have been inflicted upon them, have an ambition far loftier—to adopt a course of action both useful and generally beneficial. They come to offer the hand of friendship to a people who they perceive with sorrow are wasting their strength and destroying their vitality in the melancholy pursuit of civil war and perpetual convulsions.

'This is the truth, and those whose mission it is to let you hear it have no wish to raise the cry of war, to utter any menaces; but they do wish to help you to reconstruct the grandeur of your nation. To you, and to you alone, without the interference of any foreigner, belongs the right of re-establishing your constitution upon a solid and a lasting basis. Your work should be a work of regeneration, such as every one would respect, because every one will have contributed to it—*you* materially, *we* by our moral assistance and support. The wrong has been great, the remedy is urgent; now or never can you assure your future welfare!

'Mexicans! Listen to the voice of the Allies, who bring to you a sheet-anchor at this time of perpetual storm and stress, and which is exhausting you. Trust in their good faith, in their benevolent and loyal intentions towards you. Do not fear anything from turbulent and troublesome spirits; if these attempt to annoy you, your courageous attitude and resolution will serve to frustrate them, while we, on our part unmoved, will stand by and witness the magnificent spectacle of your regeneration only to be finally achieved by means of order and liberty!

'This will be, we feel assured, the view to be adopted by the Mexican Government also in time: thus our mission is already being construed by the illustrious and intelligent men of this country, among whom are those we are now addressing. These lofty spirits must recognise that the time has now arrived when they may—and should—lay down their arms, and appeal to public reason solely by argument and public opinion—those two triumphant sovereigns of the nineteenth century!'

The Mexicans, like all other Spanish races, are too much accustomed to the rodomontade utterances of politicians and patriots to be much influenced by a sentimental and obviously deceptive composition of this character; and while it may be that the effect upon the general reader must have been then, as it is now, one of unrestrained contempt for the author or authors of this proclamation to the Mexicans, it conveyed to the general public to whom it was addressed little more than a further attempt—and a very clumsy one—to compel them to yield peaceably to the demands which the Allies were too timid to exact by force.

The employment of General Prim as author of this precious composition was no doubt well conceived, for among his allies at least he was known as a clever but utterly unscrupulous man, one who had little conception of the word 'honour,' and who had probably never heard of the attribute of integrity. The unworthy part which he played in the Turkish campaign of 1853-54, and his discreditable adventures in Morocco in 1860, just before he had been selected by the Spanish Government as its representative in the Mexican expedition, have been chronicled by the German military author of *Spanisch und Marokanisch Krieg* (published in Leipzig in 1863).

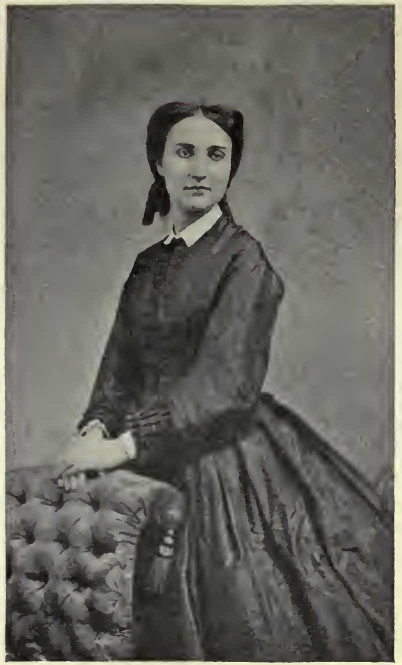
General Prim (Count Reuss) had risen from the ranks through sheer impudence and audacity, and while no one could deny his cleverness, it was impossible to place the slightest reliance upon his sense of honour or his probity. The barefaced assurance of the document above quoted, and the hardihood with which is denied the very intention which brought the expedition to Mexico, may have been lost upon the dull Mexican intellect; but it has not been —and cannot be—overlooked by the more discriminating critic and student of history.

CHAPTER VI

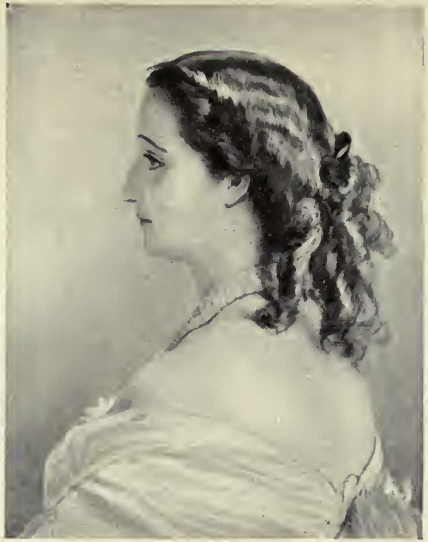
Attitude of the Allies—The troops move inland—French unpreparedness—General Zaragoza negotiates—Disunion among the three Commanders—General Miramón arrested—Failure of conference—Meeting with Doblado—Convention of La Soledad—General Almonte—The British and Spanish Commanders withdraw—General Prim's policy—Lord John Russell's instructions—French proclamation—President Benito Juarez issues counter manifesto—Warning by the United States—War begins.

When once war appeared to be inevitable, and the Allies had landed their troops upon Mexican soil, the Liberal Government, which had shown every desire to arrange matters peaceably if at all possible, declared the port of Vera Cruz 'closed to commerce,' and thus effectually stopped at once the collection of the customs' revenues which the Allies had regarded as certain to fall into their hands. Nor was this all. The States of Mexico were notified that the Republic had been invaded by a foreign enemy, and the citizens were summoned to arms. There was reason to believe that at least fifty thousand men would answer to the call, but as a matter of fact less than one-third of this number were found responsive. Later, the number actually under arms amounted to fully seventy thousand men.

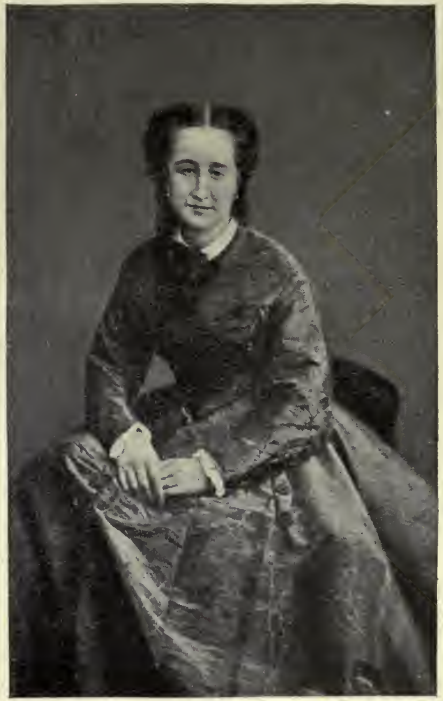
The *ad captandum* proclamation issued at the instigation of General Prim, and which bore the signature of all three representatives of the Allies, was at once followed by a counter manifesto, signed by Benito Juarez. In this, having denounced the attitudes of the three Powers in combination, but particularly that of Spain, which, it was said, was attempting to regain possession of her lost colony, he declared that 'force would be met by force,' that while



THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE AT THE AGE OF 18



THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE AT THE AGE OF 21



THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE AT THE AGE OF 35

the Government were still disposed to recognise every just and reasonable claim, 'they would accept no conditions which were offensive to the dignity of the nation or compromised its independence.'

In this proclamation, which as a literary composition stood upon a decidedly higher plane than the singular effusion put forth by the Allies, Juarez concluded his appeal to his countrymen in the following words :—'Mexicans ! if it is still sought to distort our intentions, and it is decided to humiliate us as a nation, to dismember our territory, to interfere in our internal affairs—perhaps even to break up our very nationality—I appeal to your patriotism ; I conjure you to forget all your hatreds and jealousies, to sacrifice your fortunes, and to shed your blood ; rally round your government for the defence of your common cause—the most sacred and grandest cause known to man as it is to an united people—the cause of one's country. In this war into which you have been provoked, I implore you to strictly observe the laws and usages of humanity, such as are recognised among all civilised beings. Leave untouched those of your enemies who do you no active harm, and even offer them, if necessary, your hospitality ; live peacefully in the assurance that the laws of your country will protect you.'

Although Juarez possessed but a slight acquaintance with Englishmen, his knowledge of their character being limited to his experience of those subjects of her Britannic Majesty who had lived in Mexico or in the United States of America, he was shrewd enough to appreciate that an appeal to patriotism, such as that above quoted, would not fail to make an impression in Great Britain. Nor did it. He soon recognised also that it was neither the English nor the Spanish from whom he had most to fear, and all through the protracted negotiations and lengthy diplomatic correspondence Juarez refrained from employing a single word of abuse, or from evincing any distrust, of the British Government, of the inherent honesty of whose purpose he seems to have entertained not the slightest doubt.

Moreover, although he suspected that Spain might attempt out of this embroglio to regain possession of a part, at least, of Mexico, he knew that Great Britain would adhere to her professed intention to refrain from any territorial aggrandisement at the expense of that Republic. No less positive was this penetrating President that the whole design of France was, and had from the beginning been, a mercenary one. Thus it was to meeting the French aggression that he devoted his closest attention, and directed the whole of his administrative powers of opposition.

The campaign commenced inauspiciously enough for the Allies. The French Admiral had left France without either the animals or vehicles required for his transport service, no doubt trusting to obtain both in Mexico. But he was soon disillusioned, as was the Spanish General, for all supplies of this nature were rigorously withheld as the result of the direct instructions of Juarez. Later on one of the French vessels, *Le Bertholet*, returned to Cuba, in order to collect all the transport animals that could be purchased, and in this way the French secured 254 mules and 89 horses. They seem to have cost a high price, however, for in the account which the Admiral rendered to the French Minister of Marine on 2nd January 1862, the following items are recorded: 'To the cost of 89 horses, 96,936 frs.; 254 mules, 200,838 frs.; cost of keep and attention, 11,205 frs., or a total of 308,979 frs.,' which worked out at over 900 frs. (£36) for each of the 343 animals.

Notwithstanding that neither his artillery nor his camp equipment (which were on board *La Meuse* and *La Sevre*) had yet (11th January 1862) arrived, Jurien de la Gravière determined not to linger at Vera Cruz. In agreement with General Prim and Commodore Dunlop he marched his men to the small village of Tejeria, situated about twelve kilometres (say 7¼ miles) from Vera Cruz. This village was at the time occupied by a small party of Liberal troops under General Uruaga, who, upon the French Admiral sending to him a 'courteous request for permission to occupy it,' tacitly consented by retiring from the village.

Even the short preliminary march between Vera Cruz and the adjacent village proved exceedingly trying for the European troops. The heat was intense, and the men, unaccustomed to so torrid an atmosphere, continually fell out of line, many lying down by the side of the road in order to sleep. After an eight hours' march, a halt was called, and coffee was served out to the perspiring, exhausted men and officers.

Upon the following day (12th January) the three representatives returned to Vera Cruz in order to receive in audience General Zaragoza, Minister of War, and a conference ensued between him and the delegates, General Prim acting as interpreter. The only absentee from the assembly was M. de Saligny, the French Minister, who had fallen sick almost as soon as he arrived at Vera Cruz.

The result of the first conference was the issue of an 'Ultimatum,' addressed to no one in particular, and consisting of ten Articles, in which the claims of the Allies were once more set forth in detail, the most prominent—since they were the first mentioned—demands being those of France for the payment by the Mexican Government of twelve million francs in connection with the terms of the Convention of 1853.

Against this preposterous demand the English representative at the second conference strongly protested. He later on refused his assent to an aggressively-composed communication intended for President Juarez, 'demanding access for the Allies' troops to the plateau of Jalapa, and, in the event of a refusal, threatening to make a way for them by force.' This suggestion emanated from the fertile brain of M. de Saligny, who, although too ill to attend the first conference, was present at the second, which was held on the day following.

The Spanish and English representatives were in favour of discussing verbally with the Liberal Government the question of the troops proceeding into the interior. The French Admiral, however, insisted upon sending a second demand, and threatening reprisals if it were not conceded.

It was subsequently decided that a small deputation—consisting of Captain Milans of the *Tatham* and the captain of the frigate *Thomasset*—should proceed to Mexico City, with a formal request addressed to the Government for permission to remove the troops of the Allies to a healthy locality during the progress of the negotiations.

From the village of Tejeria the two officers were attended by a Mexican escort, while General Uruaga entertained them with great courtesy and hospitality at his private residence, before allowing them to proceed upon their long journey to the Capital.

This fact, however, had no influence upon the representatives, who knew the Mexican character too well to place any value upon the outward display of cordiality. Sir Charles Wycke, writing to Lord John Russell on 25th June 1861, reminds the Foreign Minister that the Mexican Government could not be trusted, and urges him to give his consent to the British marines taking 'active steps.' Later on, however, the tenour of this Minister's despatches show that he was in favour of more peaceful measures, a view in which his Spanish colleague, General Prim, also professed to share. The three representatives had upon no occasion been of one mind upon any one subject since they first came together, the British and Spanish representatives being usually arrayed against the French Admiral, although occasionally it was a case of the Spanish and French being in opposition to the British.

The ill-feeling long existent between the British and French representatives was still further accentuated by Commodore Dunlop deciding to arrest General Miramón when he arrived at Vera Cruz on 27th January, owing to the latter having seized from the British Legation at Mexico City, during the brief time that he was acting as President of the Republic, a considerable sum of money which had been deposited, and intended to be employed in part payment of the overdue English debt. Admiral Jurien de la Gravière having protested against Miramón's arrest at Vera Cruz, where the French flag was then flying, Commodore Dunlop had caused the General to be seized before he left the steamer (a British vessel) upon which he was then a passenger. Miramón was subsequently sent to the Bermudas, but eventually he was released; this unpleasant incident considerably widened the breach between the representatives of the Allies.

The two officer-delegates returned from Mexico City on 29th January, but they had succeeded in obtaining no more than an evasive reply to their request for permission to move the troops to some healthier place than Tejeria. In fact, the negative result of their invasion was precisely what Sir Charles Wycke had foreseen.

A second and more peremptory demand was then sent, addressed upon this occasion to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Señor Doblado; in response to this missive, on 9th February there was received a still more equivocal rejoinder, which irritated the representatives excessively. A third note was despatched reiterating the demand for a better position to which the troops could be removed, and suggesting that the Minister for Foreign Affairs should himself come to meet the representatives at Purga (situated about half way between Tejeria and La Soledad) in order to discuss the matter face to face.

Meanwhile President Juarez was becoming impatient, and he gave it as his opinion that the time for further parleying had almost expired. He recalled the amiable General Uruaga in charge of the Eastern Army—who had been far too complaisant in his dealings with the Allies—and replaced him by General Zaragoza, a declared enemy of all foreigners, and uncompromisingly opposed to any intervention by the Powers being recognised or tolerated.

The first act of General Zaragoza was to address an insulting letter to General Prim, whom he elected to regard as the chief of the three representatives, notifying him and his two colleagues that any advance made by their forces into the interior of Mexico would be construed as an act of aggression and resented accordingly. The Spanish Commander was deeply mortified at the tone of this communication, but he found little sympathy from either Sir Charles Wycke or Commodore Dunlop. Admiral de la Gravière, on the other hand, hesitatingly advocated immediate reprisals, and both he and the Spanish commander commenced preparations to march inland. The latter, however, was not very enthusiastic concerning this movement, and when his wife, the Countess Reuss (a near relation of one of Juarez's Ministers), arrived at Vera Cruz (14th February) his zeal for the march became noticeably less. He had learned, moreover, that General Zaragoza really intended to forcibly prevent the foreign troops from proceeding further towards the capital, and to this end he had established himself at Orizaba, a large town situated almost midway between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, occupying a strong position upon the only road available for the troops to pass over.

It was, therefore, with some relief to their trying situation, affording a dignified escape from the *impasse* into which they had fallen, that the three representatives received a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated 13th February, in answer to their last communication of the 10th, in which he accepted their suggestion for a conference, naming the town of La Soledad as the rendezvous, and appointing the 19th February as the date.

The meeting duly took place and upon the day arranged ; after many hours' discussion, sometimes acrimonious, at others conciliatory, the disputants arrived at an understanding which was embodied in the 'Convention of La Soledad,' consisting of six short articles, a transcription of which will be found in Appendix II.

By Article 3 of this Convention, the troops were to be allowed to occupy quarters in the towns of Orizaba, Cordoba, and Tehuacán, all three being situated at a considerable elevation above the sea, and therefore more suitable than the low-lying town of Tejeria, or the pestilential port of Vera Cruz, for the accommodation of the European invaders.

Clause 4, however, stipulated clearly and very emphatically, that if the negotiations which were about to be entered upon should—as it was abundantly evident they would—prove abortive, the Allies' troops should at once vacate the more favourable positions accorded to them, and retire towards the coast, namely to the Paso-Ancho on the Cordoba road, and to the Paso de Ovejas on the Jalapa road.

Both the Mexican Commander and the French Admiral availed themselves of the time occupied by the conference by preparing for the encounter which it was obvious to them must result, no matter what might be the issue of the discussions: the frank confession made by General Almonte[1] to the effect that it was the intention of the French emperor to establish a monarchy in Mexico, rendered all chance of a peaceful settlement impossible. President Juarez had caused the interrogation to be put very definitely in a letter addressed to the Allies by his Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated 19th February; the reply was just as explicit upon the part of General Almonte, who now spoke for the Allies.

The selfish and aspiring character of the French project, as conceived and about to be carried out, stood clearly revealed to the British and Spanish Governments; their representatives in Mexico expressed themselves as entirely opposed to its execution, and while awaiting more definite instructions from London and Madrid, Commodore Dunlop and General Prim decided to withdraw their respective forces from the temporary positions which they had been allowed to occupy under the terms of the Convention of La Soledad. A further and final meeting was arranged between the three Powers' representatives, whereat both the English and the Spanish commanders expressed the opinion that by acting in further conjunction with the French Admiral in this matter they would be violating the terms of the Convention of London.

---

[1] General Almonte was a natural son of the famous priest Morélos, one among the many heroic and patriotic churchmen who fought and gave their lives for the liberation of Mexico from the Spanish yoke. His mother was an Indian woman of obscure birth, and who had been confined of him while hiding from enemies in the mountains. Almonte was possessed of a particularly pleasing countenance and very charming manners. During the brief presidency of General Miramón, he had helped to negotiate a treaty between Spain and Mexico, particularly favourable to the former, but which, upon the arrival of the French expedition in the country, was ignored by Juarez, who regarded Almonte as a traitor to his native land. The most bitter feelings were engendered between him and the Liberals when he threw the whole weight of his influence—which was at that time considerable—into the scale against his own people, and in favour first of Spain and then of France. Both the British and the Spanish Ministers to Mexico objected to the prominence with which Almonte thrust himself forward in all negotiations undertaken, and especially to his presence among the French troops, of whom he cunningly contrived to make use as an escort when travelling through the country; so much was he hated by the Liberals, that they made several attempts to seize his person even at the point of the French bayonets which were protecting him. Later on General Almonte was sent as Mexican Imperial Minister to France in place of Don José Maria Hidalgo, whom Maximilian had recalled on account of the indifferent manner in which he had represented the interests of Mexico at the Tuileries.

Sir Charles Wycke seems to have been of a very uncertain mind throughout, and to have wavered considerably in regard to the correctness of the attitude adopted by Commodore Dunlop and General Prim. That the British Minister's conduct created a decidedly unfavourable impression upon the minds of others is shown by a letter written to the French Foreign Minister at Paris by Herr Wagner, the Prussian Minister to Mexico, wherein he referred to Sir Charles' 'vacillation and irresolution.'

However hesitant the British Minister may have proved up till now, his ill-health may have offered some excuse. During the whole of the month of February 1862 Sir Charles Wycke had been sick, and while at Orizaba he had suffered intensely. He was unable to receive, or to discuss matters with, either of the Liberal Ministers of Finance and Justice when they arrived on the 20th of that month; and he was considerably worried respecting the re-embarkation of the British troops, who had been ordered to be withdrawn by Lord John Russell so soon as the transports could arrive from England.

General Prim, in the course of a letter which he addressed to the Emperor Napoleon, on 17th March, attempted to show that the English were offended at the arrival from France of an additional brigade of troops under General de Lorencez; but this statement, like others which had preceded it, was merely an example of General Prim's mendacity, for, as a fact, the despatch of further French troops to Mexico had absolutely no influence upon the actions of the British Foreign Office, which long before had made up its mind to abandon the Mexican expedition at the earliest opportunity.

Lord John Russell, in two different letters addressed to Sir Charles Wycke (23rd February and 30th March), had pointed out that it never had been part of the policy of her Britannic Majesty's Government to 'interfere in favour of those who had lent their money to foreign governments, while, at the same time, measures would be taken to see that international obligations—such as charges upon the customs' revenues which had been hypothecated by agreement—should be faithfully observed.'

The exact expression employed by Lord John Russell in connection with the early Mexican expedition was 'towards the purification and welfare of Mexico' (see letter of instruction dated 30th January 1862). The forcible establishment of a monarchy at the bidding of the French emperor bore no relation to this idea, and, therefore, the British Government, upon learning of it, withdrew its small force from further co-operation. 'Let Mexico work out her own salvation, if she can,' wrote the British Minister, 'under the administration of Señor Doblado; the British Government asks nothing better. But it does not wish to interfere.' (Lord John Russell to Sir Charles Wycke, 1st April.)

Thus England definitely withdrew from the Mexican enterprise, while the Spanish troops, which had also been withdrawn from Orizaba on 18th April, had likewise vacated Mexican territory by the 24th of that month, leaving the French forces, amounting now to considerably over twenty-eight thousand men, to fight their battles unaided.

The French Government was so hopelessly compromised, that no other course than that of pursuing a war which it had quite unnecessarily provoked was possible.

The fact need hardly be emphasised that the disagreement between the Allies' representatives as to the interpretation of a certain clause in the Convention of London proved very acceptable to Benito Juarez and the members of his government, who perceived in this, to them, extremely fortunate circumstance a welcome release from the difficulties of their position. The fact of the disagreement was loudly bruited abroad, especially in the United States, and exploited among the citizens of the Mexican Republic for all that it was worth. Convinced that the war with France could not under any circumstances be avoided, it came as an immense relief to the citizen president to find that he had but one powerful nation to fight instead of three.

The conduct of England and Spain was loudly acclaimed, and Señor Doblado went out of his way to pay a tribute to the 'nobility of these nations in adhering strictly to the letter of the Convention of London as well as to the Convention of La Soledad.' There is no doubt that the French commander must have felt the falsity of his position; he must have been perfectly cognisant that he appeared in an unpleasant light to his colleagues as well as to the whole of the Mexican people. But Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, by nature a perfectly honourable man, was cast for the thankless part of *agent provocateur*, and was compelled to play out his discreditable *rôle* at the bidding of his exacting master at the Tuileries.

On the 16th April the representatives of France (M. de Saligny and the Admiral) issued yet another of their singular manifestoes to the people of Mexico (Appendix III.) one which was as full of platitudes, expressive of false sentiment and of faithless protestations, as any that had preceded it. This proclamation virtually amounted to a declaration of war against Mexico, but the wily Juarez, whose plans for resistance were not as yet fully matured, declined to so regard it, thus securing for himself further precious time in which to meet the situation. Moreover, many facts which were becoming known to him lent encouragement. It was now within his cognisance that with many millions of the French nation the Mexican expedition was a decidedly unpopular movement; he was no less aware that the subject had divided the French Cabinet itself, while his alert European diplomatic representatives kept him well informed of the opinions which were entertained in other capitals respecting Napoleon's latest venture. He recognised that however heavy might be the sacrifices which were called for upon the part of the Mexicans, those exacted from the French would prove hardly less real. A spirit of optimism he never completely abandoned. Even when he was pursued with feverish energy from town to town and chased from refuge to refuge by the French columns, until at length he had reached more than once the extreme limits of his own country and was compelled to seek temporary shelter across the border of the United States, the indomitable and resourceful president refused to acknowledge defeat; five years of unceasing pursuit and consequent anxiety failed to shake his belief in the eventual triumph of his cause.

But the most powerful stimulant was his firm belief in the counteracting influence of the United States. The jealousy with which the action of the Powers was viewed across the border, the character of the diplomatic correspondence which had passed—and week by week was passing—between the accredited representatives at Washington and Paris were perfectly well known to this vigilant and well-informed president. The archives concerning this period of Mexican history, which exist to-day, prove conclusively that Juarez's intelligence department was both admirably organised and efficiently served.

He now made a stirring final appeal to his people, one in which he ordered all men between the ages of twenty-one and sixty to take up arms under the penalty of being denounced as traitors. All Frenchmen living in the country were to be protected and placed under the direct charge of the authorities; but any Mexican citizen or soldier who was found supplying provisions or armaments to the enemy would, upon conviction, be at once put to death as a betrayer of his country.

Benito Juarez, whose twenty thousand troops were concentrated in three divisions—San Luis Potósi, Guanajuato, and Guadalajara—found himself confronted by a powerful opposition among his own countrymen (many of whom were principally influenced by personal reasons such as hatred of the ruling president and his ministers, or by hopes of deriving individual advantage), who declared themselves in favour of the French intervention. Again, there were to be found some high-minded and patriotic Mexicans who had become wearied of the unceasing internal struggles of their countrymen, and whose firm belief it was that a strong foreign hand was much needed to put an end to the long-sustained reign of anarchy and disorder. As to the particular form of government to be decided upon, they were perhaps the more disposed to try a monarchy on account of the long series of failures which had marked the Republican administration from the date of the first constitutional president in October of 1824 to the advent of Benito Juarez in 1859.

Finally, when the last shadow of doubt as to the intentions of France had been dispelled and war between that country and Mexico was proclaimed, President Juarez issued a further pronunciamento, and by the beginning of the month of May 1862 the rupture between the French and Mexican governments was complete, and hostilities were in full swing.

The commencement of war was characterised by a preliminary breach of faith upon the part of the French, for notwithstanding the stipulation, contained in the Convention of La Soledad, that if, and when, hostilities broke out all the foreign troops should leave Orizaba and retire beyond the line of the Chiquihuite, the French refused to comply. This civilised people therefore inaugurated a campaign, which was intended to teach the Mexicans the significance of the word 'honour,' by a deliberate violation of a solemn undertaking. The Mexicans were not slow to profit by this experience of the probity of their foreign enemy.

CHAPTER VII

The rival armies—Landing of the French expedition—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière—General Forey replaces the Admiral—Rival forces engaged—Spanish contingent—British marines—Mexican army—Imperialist troops—Bazaine's valuable assistance—French niggardliness and lack of funds—The Belgian and Austrian legions—The Liberal troops—Charges of cruelty against Juarez's followers—General Miguel Miramón—His loyalty suspected.

It was at first intended that the Expeditionary Corps, to be despatched to Mexico under the command of Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière in 1861, should consist of marines, and the regiments selected were: one battalion of Infantry, one battery of Artillery, and a landing-party of Bluejackets. But a few days after the Treaty of London had been signed, it was decided to add a battalion of Zouaves and a company of Chasseurs d'Afrique. The Minister of War also added a train detachment, together with a corps of engineers and mechanics. The complete force then consisted of the following:

One Regiment of Marine Light Infantry, under Colonel Hennique.
One Battalion of the Second Zouaves, under Commandant Cousin.
One Battalion of Marine Fusiliers, under Captain Allègre.
One Company of Chasseurs d'Afrique, under Second-Lieutenant Paploré.
One Battery of Marine Artillery with 4 rifled guns, under Captain Mallat.
One Battery of Mountain Howitzers, served by Marines, under Naval Lieutenant Bruat.
One Section of 12 rifled guns, served by Marines. (This section was eventually discarded on account of its incompleteness.)
One Detachment of Sappers and Miners.
One Artillery train.
One Equipment train.

A landing-party of Bluejackets.
A Hospital Corps.
And a detachment of Gendarmerie under Captain de Chavannes de Chastel.

The first portion of the expeditionary force, composed of 2400 men and 250 horses, sailed from Toulon in eleven ships between the 12th and the 29th of November 1861, and arrived at Vera Cruz between the dates 7th of January and 16th of February 1862.

The second portion, consisting of 4711 men and 643 horses, under General de Lorencez, left France in eleven ships between the dates 28th of January and 8th of February, arriving at Mexico between the 5th of March and the 17th of April 1862.

The third portion, consisting of 431 men and 120 horses, under General Douay, which left between the 24th of March and the 24th of April, in three ships, arrived at its destination between the dates 15th of May and 20th of June.

The fourth section, consisting of 3416 men and 820 horses, under General Forey, and accommodated in nine vessels; the fifth section, composed of 5824 men and 848 horses, accommodated in seven vessels (1st Convoy), 525 men with 219 horses in five vessels (2nd Convoy), 1064 men and 352 horses in seven vessels (3rd Convoy), 2086 men with 611 horses, in seven vessels (4th Convoy), 3351 men and 431 horses, in seven vessels (5th Convoy); and the sixth section, composed of 6326 men with 388 horses, conveyed in eight vessels, left France during the first days of August, arriving at Vera Cruz at various dates in the following October.

Further despatches of troops took place up to the 25th of June 1865, the total number amounting to 38,493 men and 5724 horses.

The Spanish army under General Prim (Count Reuss) consisted of 7000 men, while England merely despatched a single company of Marines. In view of the insignificant part which the Spanish and English troops took in the subsequent proceedings, it is unnecessary to refer with

THE LATE QUEEN LOUISE-MARIE, SECOND WIFE OF LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS
Parents of the Empress Charlotte

any greater fulness to the composition of these two expeditionary forces.

By the 1st of December 1862, when General Forey arrived in Mexico to take command in place of Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, the distribution of the various commands was as follows:

Commander-in-Chief: General Forey.
Chief of the General Staff: Staff Colonel d'Auvergne.
Commandant of Artillery: Brigadier-General Vernhet de Laumière.
Chief of the Artillery Staff: Major de Lajaille.
Commandant of Engineers: Colonel Vialla.
Chief of the Engineer Staff: Major Corbin.
Chief of the Administrative Service: Military Commissary Wolf.

First Infantry Division.

Divisional General Bazaine.
Chief of Staff: Lieutenant-Colonel Lacroix.

1st Brigade: General Baron Neigre.	18th Battalion of Chasseurs: Commandant Lamy. 1st Regiment of Zouaves: Colonel Brincourt. 81st Regiment of the Line: Colonel de la Canorgue.
2nd Brigade: General de Castagny.	20th Battalion of Chasseurs: Commandant Lepage de Longchamps. 95th Regiment of the Line: Colonel Jolivet. 3rd Zouaves: Colonel Mangin. Algerian Sharpshooters: Commandant Cottret.

Second Infantry Division.

Brigadier-General Douay, Provisional Commandant of the Division.
Chief of Staff: Major (Captain), Acting.

1st Brigade: Colonel L'Hériller, Commanding Provisionally.	1st Battalion of Chasseurs: 99th Regiment of the Line: Colonel L'Hériller. 2nd Regiment of Zouaves: Colonel Gambier.

2nd Brigade: General de Berthier.	7th Battalion of Chasseurs: Commandant Albici. 51st Regiment of the Line: Colonel Garnier. 62nd Regiment of the Line: Colonel Baron Aymard.

Cavalry Brigade.

Brigadier-General Mirandol.
1st Regiment: Colonel de Brémond d'Ars.
2nd Regiment: Colonel du Barail.

Marines.

Battalion of Marine Fusiliers: Naval Lieutenant Bruat.
2nd Regiment of Marine Infantry: Colonel Hennique.

In spite of the rapid progress which had been made in the organisation and despatch to Mexico of the French troops, they were outstripped by the Spaniards. Much to his surprise, upon his arrival at Havana on the 27th of December 1861, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière found that the Spanish troops had left for Vera Cruz on the 17th of that month, and had already occupied the port. Upon a protest being lodged, General Prim (Count Reuss), in command of the Spanish force, expressed great regret at any misunderstanding having occurred in regard to the actual date of departure of his army, and intimated his desire to await the arrival of the French and English squadrons before making any further demonstrations before Vera Cruz.

Even in those early days disagreements arose between the three representatives, for whereas Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and General Prim both declared that their instructions called for an immediate advance into the interior of Mexico, Commodore Dunlop, in command of the British marines, read his instructions as forbidding him to make any movement into the interior. The dispute threatening to become acute, and thinking to avoid any further friction, Commodore Dunlop telegraphed to England for instructions, and when these arrived they were found to confirm the previous views of the Cabinet, which were 'to adhere strictly to the Convention of London,' which had been signed on the 31st October 1861.

The Mexican army devoted to the imperial cause was at this time in a very bad state of discipline, and practically without either uniforms or equipment. In regard to pay, until the French came into the country and guaranteed the defrayment, there had been no distribution among the rank and file for many months, while the pay of the officers was several months in arrear. The number of Mexican troops under French and native command amounted to 20,285 men, but their ranks were continually being depleted by desertions to the Liberals, although fresh levies, made occasionally among the peasantry, resulted in some of the vacancies being filled.

The Mexican troops owning fealty to the emperor were apportioned as follows:—Under General Marquez (Morelia and neighbourhood, Jalapa, and Peróte), 6099 men; under General Méjìa (San Luis Potósi, Venado, and Matehuala), 5270 men; under Brigadier-General Vicario (Cuernavaca, Iguala, etc.), 1876 men; under Colonel Flon (Puebla, Tepejo, etc.), 236 men; under Colonel Trujeque (Puebla, Acatlan and Atlixco), 419 men; under Colonel Arguelles (Cordoba), 304 men; under Colonel Galvez (Orizaba), 291 men; under Colonel Valdez (Toluca), 871 men; under Colonel Navarette (Toluca), 356 men; under Colonel Cano (Pachuca), 99 men; under Colonel Antonio Dominguez (Pachuca), 205 men; under Colonel Figuerrero (Vera Cruz), 153 men; under Commandant Ribeira (San Martín and Texmelucan), 66 men; under Commandant José de la Peña (Tula), 107 men; under Commandant Murcia (La Soledad), 100 men; under Colonel Chaves (Aguascalientes), 625 men; under Colonel Zermeno (Lagos), 318 men; under Colonel Cuellar (Guadalajara), 329 men; under Colonel Renteria (also at Guadalajara), 582 men; under Colonel Castellanos (Tepatitlán), 106 men; under General Velarde (La Barca), 562 men; under Colonel Santiago Castellanos (Guadalajara), 87 men; under Colonel Dugain (at Tampico and district around), 848 men, while there were further 272 men in the ambulance and hospital corps.

The task of elaborating a scheme for the reorganisation of the Mexican army was entrusted by Maximilian, who personally knew very little about military matters while having an intimate and practical knowledge of naval affairs, to General Bazaine. On 26th January 1865 the emperor signed the military code of laws which was submitted to him. A complete reorganisation of the Ministry of War was undertaken at the same time, and henceforth the responsible minister had to deal personally with all questions which concerned the national army. Neither Maximilian not Bazaine, however, was able to find any French or Mexican officer who either would or could undertake the detail work of reorganisation, and failing these the emperor appointed the Austrian General, Count de Thün, to undertake the task. This distinguished officer found immense difficulties confronting him at every turn, for few Mexicans presented themselves who were worthy of confidence, while the civil functionaries in many instances opposed themselves strenuously to the interference of foreigners, refusing to accept orders from them, and discouraging those of their countrymen who clung to the empire.

The Mexican army in favour of the empire reckoned in its ranks—without taking into consideration a well-equipped body of artillery—some 35,650 foot soldiers, horse and artillery, with 11,073 horses, this total including, however, both regulars, irregulars, and municipal troops. The foreign legion comprised about 1325 Belgians and 6545 Austrians, with 1409 horses. Thus Maximilian's total forces stood at an efficient strength of 43,520 men and 12,482 horses. Such a force, commanded by capable French officers, was undoubtedly powerful enough to have firmly and effectively established the empire in Mexico, notwithstanding the large number of Liberal troops opposed to them. But apart from the general ill-feeling which prevailed among the imperial force, owing to jealousy of the foreigner and the lack—at a later date—of their promised pay, dissensions broke out between the French and Mexican officers and, again, between Frenchman and Frenchman and Mexican and Mexican.

Bazaine had sufficient experience of the Mexicans to fear them when their bellies were empty and their pockets unfilled. Those who suffered the most turned themselves into robbers and highwaymen, and found the occupation far more profitable and scarcely more hazardous. Upon numerous occasions the whole of the imperial troops would have remained unpaid, as they were frequently unfed, but for the Marshal taking upon his own shoulders the responsibility of authorising the French Paymaster-General to make an advance. Upon one occasion this advance amounted to five million francs (£200,000). It was this act upon the part of Bazaine which drew from Maximilian the appreciative letter of 5th February 1866, in which he wrote: 'I have just learnt of the valuable service which you have rendered to my Government by coming to its help at the time of a difficult financial crisis. Be pleased to receive my most sincere thanks for the discretion and kindness which you have exercised in this delicate matter, which to me doubles the value of the service.'

Although Maximilian was prompt and genuine enough in the expression of his thanks, Bazaine's timely 'service' was ill received in Paris, Napoleon causing a lengthy and admonitive communication to be addressed to his Commander-in-chief, warning him against any further acts of the kind, and instructing him to categorically refuse any further advance to the Mexican army.

Notwithstanding these commands, received direct from the Tuileries, Bazaine did, upon at least one other occasion, consent to an advance—for the sum of 2,500,000, francs—to the exhausted treasury, a sum for which Maximilian had pleaded at an imperial council. Both Señor J. M. A. de Lacunza, the President of the Council, and the Minister for War, had supplicated in vain. The French Minister, M. Dano, and M. de Maintenant, the French Inspector of Finance, had refused, while Marshal Bazaine expressed himself as impotent in the matter. Then Maximilian, for once asserting himself strongly, exclaimed :—' Doing away with all detail, the question may be summed up in a very few words—it is either the bankruptcy of the empire or the hope of saving it. If the personages who represent France at this council are not willing to take the responsibility of spending a few millions, they must take that of having allowed bankruptcy to intervene, which assuredly would not be the desire of the Emperor Napoleon, who has always shown himself to be the friend of the Mexican empire.'

In view of the lack of funds necessary to clothe, equip, and feed the imperial troops, it is little surprising that their numbers should have continued to suffer diminution, and that widespread dissatisfaction should have prevailed among those who still remained faithful to Maximilian's cause. It was not alone the Mexican troops who were suffering, for the Austro-Belgian legion were in equally sad straits. According to the provision of the Convention of Miramar (clause 3) the foreign legion were to remain under the command of French officers but in the service of the Mexican emperor for 'six years after all the other French troops had been recalled.' The French Government were nevertheless compelled to find the money necessary for the maintenance of these troops—some eight thousand in all—since their disbanding would have broken up the entire imperial forces and have left the empire at the mercy of the republicans.

Owing to the fact that the majority of the Austrian Legion—composed of Poles and Croatians—spoke nothing but their own language, and the Belgians little else than their native Flemish, the French and Mexican officers found the utmost difficulty in making themselves understood, since all orders were given in Spanish. Even the officers who were Austrians and Belgian-born had great trouble in explaining themselves satisfactorily. Very few of the French officers could speak Spanish, Bazaine being one of the exceptions, while Captain J. J. Kendall, an Englishman formerly in the 44th and 6th Regiments of her Britannic Majesty was another.

The Liberal or Republican army may be estimated at numbering 70,000 men, but sometimes their ranks were more full than at others, desertions and fresh accessions about equalising. The commands were distributed as follows :—Under General Escobedo, 6000 ; First contingent of Durango, San Luis Potósi, and Zacatecas, 400 ; Contingent at Guanajuato, 4000 ; Army of the Centre, 8200 ; Army of the West, 8000 ; Army of the South, 5000 ; Army of the East, 15,000 ; under Leiva and Altamarino, 2200 ; guerillas in different portions of the Republic, who were mainly robbers and cut-throats in the pay of the Liberals, for the mere purpose of harrying the imperial troops, about 10,000 ; garrisons left in charge of reconquered or evacuated towns, 6600 ; and the small army, acting under the command of Antonio Carabazal, about 1000.

According to Captain Kendall, whose name has already been referred to, and who has left a record of his experiences in Mexico under Maximilian, the Republican army had no military organisation anterior to the arrival of the French troops in Mexico. The army, such as it was, had been formed and disciplined within a period of three months. Captain Kendall has attributed this remarkable feat to the assistance rendered surreptitiously, but none the less effectively, by the United States. That evidence of this material support exists there is no doubt whatever, and it will be adduced in its proper sequence.

Those who would sneer at the heterogeneous assembly of ill-equipped tatterdemalions, who for the most part composed the Mexican Liberal forces, should also remember that they succeeded, through five years of hard-fought battles, in not alone defending themselves against the immeasurably superior French army, but also against the not inconsiderable imperial forces, which enjoyed the advantage of foreign instruction and, at the commencement of the campaign at least, of foreign financial resources and equipment.

It is little less than astonishing that the Liberals should have succeeded as well as they did—without clothes, without food, without equipment, sometimes provided merely with pikes, sometimes with sticks and sometimes with stones—in defending themselves, and occasionally in leading the attack, against the splendid soldiery of France, against the Marshals Bazaine and Forey, against the Generals de Lorencez, Douay, Neigre, de Castagny, and de Potier, with their *canons rayés*, their rifles, their serried ranks, their discipline, and their perfected commissariat. When the shivering Mexicans were starving, the French soldiery were feasting; while the luckless Liberals were fighting for months without having received a single *centavo* of their pay, the French troops were able to transmit from their savings and looting considerable sums to their relatives in the homeland.

The Mexican soldiery have been accused of perpetrating numerous and unheard-of barbarities during the period of their five years of struggle; and no doubt they did. It is the nature of the average Mexican, almost full-blooded Indian that he is, to revenge himself in a gross and brutal manner. Civilisation has had but little influence in changing his naturally savage disposition; one, therefore, approaches the consideration of the charges brought against him with calmness and circumspection.

But it has to be remembered that the French troops were likewise proved guilty of nameless acts of cruel retaliation, of inflicting needlessly savage punishment, wreaking implacable revenge, and as often committing ferocious deeds of outrage. The complete account of the French attack upon Puebla, of the oppression to which innocent women and children were subjected, of the inhuman treatment meted out to the luckless men who fell into their hands as prisoners of war, of their hunting from their concealment with faggot and sword those who had hidden themselves, of the number of illegal and unwarrantable private executions of civil prisoners, untried and undefended, history has preserved no record.

NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF
THE FRENCH

COUNT WALEWSKI
ILLEGITIMATE SON OF THE EMPEROR
NAPOLEON

THE DUC DE MORNY
ILLEGITIMATE BROTHER OF THE EMPEROR
NAPOLEON

The catalogue of such acts remains, however, deeply buried in the memories of the children and of the children's children of the survivors; many a harrowing account, with circumstantial evidence in abundance, has been related to me.

The Imperial army was not very well supplied with experienced and capable officers, but among the latter there was to be found at least one remarkable man.

Miguel Miramón, who had a considerable portion of French blood in his veins and still more of the Gallic disposition in his character, was born in Mexico the same year that witnessed the birth of Maximilian—1832—and in the month of September. He was little more than a youth when, in 1847, he helped to defend the old castle of Chapultepec—formerly the palace of Moctezuma (rebuilt by the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico, Don Matias de Galvaez)—when it was attacked by the troops of the United States under General Winfield Scott. From this day Miramón, like so many Mexican soldiers, cherished an abiding hatred for the Yankees, who, according to the Mexicans' ideas, were bound some day to become their complete masters. Young Miramón distinguished himself greatly by his courage upon this as upon many other occasions, such as in 1853, when he proved his valour as a soldier by his splendid services in the defence of Puebla, before the town was captured by the French.

From the army he drifted into active politics, and from having supported the presidential candidature of Felix Zuloaga as a rival 'Chief Magistrate' against the pretensions of both Comonfort and Alvarez and the constitutional President Benito Juarez, and having succeeded in securing the former's election, Miramón himself accepted presidential honours. In 1859 Zuloaga, who then had had enough of the presidency after eighteen months' experience, resigned in favour of Miramón, but the latter likewise was destined to enjoy but a brief period of authority; after serving for a few months he returned the compliment by resigning in favour of Zuloaga now wishful to return, At this time the whole country was in a state of seething revolution, and all kinds of excesses were being perpetrated. A violent attack was made upon the British Legation at Mexico City, while the Conservative and Liberal forces were locked in a deadly struggle for the reins and sweets of office. Finally the latter triumphed, and, following the capitulation of Guadalajara, Miramón was compelled to flee from the country and to go into hiding. He remained abroad, first in the United States and later in Europe, where he conducted a vigorous campaign against President Juarez, and ardently advocated foreign intervention.

Miramón was considered a remarkably handsome man; for a Mexican, he was unusually fair skinned. He was gifted with a great amount of natural eloquence and grace of manner, being a ready and agreeable conversationalist and extremely witty upon occasions. He was precisely the kind of individual who was calculated to favourably impress Maximilian. He made friends almost at sight, and yet he was of rather a cynical nature, and at certain times gave rise to doubts as to his complete sincerity. His smile, though described as 'charming,' was often sinister, even while his words may have been suave. Certain historians have accused him of harbouring treacherous thoughts towards Maximilian, but the latter could never be induced to believe aught but what was good of him, and he lived and died under the firm conviction of Miramón's implicit loyalty. At least Miramón suffered for and with him; side by side they faced the platoon which ended their young and promising lives.

By Count Emile de Kératry, who professes to have had the original accusatory correspondence in his possession, Miramón is bluntly accused of having been a traitor to his adopted sovereign. He says: 'Miramón's head will never wear the martyr's halo of glory. Our government[1] is generally too well informed of all that goes on in Paris not to have known that the former president (Miramón) of the Republic of Mexico used often to say in certain *salons* that he was only returning to Mexico to reascend the presidential chair after the downfall of the monarchy. If he had been successful in his northern campaign, it is a matter of certainty that he would have turned his arms against his sovereign.'

---

[1] That of France.

CHAPTER VIII

War in earnest—Second French expedition compared with the first—Napoleon's explanatory letter to General Forey—General de Lorencez assumes command—Acultzingo taken—Move on Puebla—Defeat of the French (5th May 1862)—Retirement upon Orizaba—Mexican triumph—Bad advice of Almonte and de Saligny—General Marquez joins the French—Arrival of General Douay—Battle of Barranca Veca (18th May)—Defeat of Mexicans—Difficulties of the French—Defence of Orizaba—Heavy French losses—Napoleon's encouragement of de Lorencez—Public disapproval in France.

The Mexican expedition undertaken by France in 1862 was very different in character from, and reflected much less honour upon the French arms than, the campaign of 1839. This latter had gone far to raise the prestige of the kingdom in the eyes of foreign nations. Particularly was this the case with regard to the successful bombardment of San Juan d'Ulloa, an island fortress near Vera Cruz, by a French fleet commanded by Admiral Baudin, and under whose orders the king's youngest son, the Prince de Joinville, made his first essay in arms.

In connection with this earlier trouble between France and Mexico, the government of the first-named had become involved in a serious dispute in consequence of some piratical acts committed on French subjects by Mexicans, who, since the day of their revolt against Spain, had been in a state of continual anarchy, and as a consequence of a refusal upon the part of the Mexican Government to admit the French to the privileges enjoyed by other nations. Negotiations having failed to produce any effect upon the obstinate republicans, who were as ignorant of the strength of their enemies as they were incapable of developing any of their own, a squadron consisting of three line-of-battle ships—

La Neréide, La Gloire, and *L'Iphigénie*—the *Créole* frigate, and two bomb vessels, approached Vera Cruz; having failed to bring the Mexican authorities to terms, Admiral Baudin prepared for an immediate attack on the fort of San Juan d'Ulloa, which commanded then, as it commands now, the entry to the town. Such was the vigour of the cannonade that in four hours the white flag was hoisted upon the fort, the walls of which had been reduced to a mere heap of ruins. The Admiral landed a strong body of marines under the command of the Prince de Joinville, who advanced on the city of Vera Cruz itself and soon reduced it to submission. Thus the French not only won their battle, but secured the privileges for which they had fought. In 1862, however, their cause was not so just a one, and their experiences in the contest waged proved decidedly less successful in the end.

That Napoleon had other than philanthropic motives in sending his legions to Mexico, is practically admitted in the letter (given below) which he addressed to General Forey.

'FONTAINBLEAU, *July* 5, 1862.

'MY DEAR GENERAL,—There will be people to ask you why we waste so many men, and spend so much money, in establishing a regular government in Mexico.

'In the present state of the civilised world, the prosperity of America is not indifferent to Europe, for America supports our manufactories and keeps alive our commerce. We are interested in keeping the United States a powerful and prosperous republic; but it will not be interesting to us if it takes possession of the whole of the Gulf of Mexico, and governs the West Indies and South America, thus controlling the entire produce of the New World. We now see by sad experience how precarious an industry is that which is compelled to seek its raw material in a single market, the changes of which so seriously affect it.

'Now if Mexico preserves its independence and maintains the integrity of its territory; if a firm government is established there by the aid of France, we shall give to the Latin race beyond the ocean its ancient strength and power; we shall have guaranteed the security of our own and the Spanish colonies in the West Indies ; we shall have extended our benevolent influence to the centre of America, and that influence, while it makes a market for our fabrics, secures us the material indispensable to our manufactures.

'Mexico, thus regenerated, will ever be favourable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because its interests will coincide with ours, and because it will find a support in its relations with European powers. NAPOLEON.'

The first of the expeditionary forces put into the field by France was one of seven thousand three hundred men under the command of General de Lorencez. This distinguished officer felt so confident of his troops, all of whom were at this early stage in excellent health (with the sole exception of the men of the first column who had not completely recovered from their first experiences), that in a letter to the Minister of War in Paris, dated 26th April 1862, the General had written :

'We have such an enormous superiority over the Mexicans in point of discipline, organisation, and *morale*, that I beg you will assure the Emperor that at the head of six thousand men I would undertake to become complete master of Mexico.'

His first move was on the town of Puebla, called by the Mexicans the 'City of the Angels' (Puebla de los Angeles), a name conferred upon it by the pious Spanish builders of 1532. Active operations commenced on 27th April. The town was at this time occupied by General Zaragoza, a brave soldier but a very brutal governor, a man, moreover, who cordially detested all foreigners and had a particular loathing for the French, whom he remembered with much bitterness in the year of 1839. The Mexican General had command of about twelve thousand men, divided into five brigades of infantry, two hundred horsemen, and six pieces of cannon. Among his officers was Colonel Escobedo, who was destined to play so important a part against the Maximilian régime, while among other commanding officers were General Arteaga and General Negrete.

It was in this memorable encounter that General Porfirio Diaz again distinguished himself greatly by following up some previously-won successes against a number of Mexican officers—among whom was General Marquez—who were carrying on an active revolutionary movement against the established government of Benito Juarez.

General de Lorencez, as a preliminary, took possession of the small neighbouring village of Acultzingo, and here he established his camp. From this point he intended to march on the town of Puebla, and imagined an easy task awaited him. He neither knew how many men were opposed to him nor anything regarding their disposition, and the first surprise which awakened him to the danger of his position was a furious fusillade directed against a company of Zouaves which he had sent to climb some heights in order to obtain some idea of the town and its defences.

For several hours the French troops endeavoured to enter the town through the passage of 'La Cumbres,' but it was too strongly held by the enemy. The 29th and 30th of April passed without any advantage being secured by either side, heavy rains rendering operations extremely difficult and disagreeable for the French besiegers. Puebla was then—as now—an open town, with regularly-built streets at right-angles to one another, each block of buildings forming a sort of square fortress, well protected by barricades. The many religious houses, convents, monasteries, and seminaries were armed and served by civilian volunteers, so that General de Lorencez found his arrival well prepared against and a stout resistance offered.

The attack upon the town was made on 5th May 1862. At daybreak the French forces had left their night-quarters which had been pitched at the village of Amozoc, and by half-past nine they were before the walls of Puebla, confronting the 12,000 men under General Zaragoza's command. It was almost dark before hostilities were suspended for the day, and by that time the French commander had lost 476 men killed, missing, and wounded. Only two fell into the hands of the Mexicans as prisoners. On the side of the latter, 83 men had been killed, and 132 wounded, while 12 were reported missing.

The French had had sufficient fighting for the time being, and General de Lorencez determined to retire again to Orizaba, an operation which he carried out in perfect order. For two days afterwards the Mexicans were afraid to leave the town's shelter, but on the 8th of May they emerged, and finding the coast clear sent up loud pæans of victory. Throughout the Republic they sent messengers to proclaim the 'astounding success of the arms of the children of Anahuac over the soldiers of the first power in the world.' Juarez availed himself of the passing enthusiasm to induce Congress, which was about to adjourn, to place full administrative powers in his hands.

General de Lorencez, who had been joined by several Mexican malcontents, including Colonel Lopez and about twelve others, now retired still further from the scene of his late defeat, leaving Orizaba on 9th May for a second stay at Amozoc, where he had been assured by M. de Saligny and General Almonte strong reinforcements would reach him from General Marquez. None, however, arrived, and the retiring movement was, therefore, continued to Tepeaca (11th May), Acultzingo (12th May), Quecholac (13th May), Palmar (14th May), and La Cañada (15th May). At Palmar, of the small body of Mexican guerillas, who had been harrassing the French troops for some days, about twenty-two were attacked and captured.

On the 17th, Marquez and his cavalry troop (composed of 2700 men and horses) joined the French from Matamoras. On the following day a further serious engagement took place between the opposing forces, the result of which was a complete defeat of the Mexicans, who lost a banner and 1200 prisoners (including 400 horsemen), with about 100 killed and 200 wounded. The French lost but few men, but of their Mexican allies about 200 were either killed or wounded. This encounter was known as the battle of 'the Dry Gully' or 'el Barranca Veca.'

THE LATE COUNT PHILIPPE OF FLANDERS
BROTHER OF THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

General de Lorencez was far from feeling appeased at the triumph above recorded, for the disaster at Puebla was still fresh in his mind. He held M. de Saligny, the French Minister to Mexico, entirely responsible for that misfortune, since it was upon his misrepresentations, both as to the unpreparedness of the town for an attack and the kind of welcome which the inhabitants would be likely to extend to the French troops, that General de Lorencez had been induced to undertake the assault. All his efforts were now devoted to re-establishing his connections with his base at Vera Cruz, which had been interrupted. The utmost difficulty had hitherto been found in obtaining the necessary supplies for his troops, and recourse had had to be made to seizing whatever supplies of food, hay, corn, and other commodities could be found at the surrounding *haciendas* and villages. The inhabitants of Vera Cruz became more and more hostile to the French, and finally refused to sell to them anything in the way of food or supplies, while even the French residents proved themselves unfriendly.

On 16th May General Douay, who had been appointed second in command of the expeditionary force, arrived at Vera Cruz, bringing with him 300 men from different corps, who were urgently needed to replace that portion of the garrison which had become incapacitated through repeated attacks of yellow fever. In the course of a few months over 180 French officers and men had died from this terrible disease.

In the meanwhile, General Zaragoza, flushed with the triumph of his arms at Puebla and greatly reinforced by the accession of 6000 of the best troops of the Republic under General Ortega, the Governor of Zacatecas, determined to take the offensive against the French and besiege them at Orizaba. On the 12th of June, when the town was first being threatened, the French preparations for defence were far from complete. The garrison had been much reduced by the departure of General Marquez and his troops, and to meet the 16,500 Mexicans who confronted them the French were not able to put up more than 2800 men. The firing of the former was, however, bad, since, as a result of 1200 shots launched against the town, but one soldier was killed and six were wounded. On the other hand, the Mexicans themselves lost 14 men killed and wounded, among the latter being General Tapia, who was very seriously injured.

During the weeks that passed between the beginning of June and the end of August, the French troops at Orizaba suffered great privations, and from the ravages of yellow fever. Several sorties had been made for the purpose of escorting parties in search of food and provender ; these were collected with great difficulty and at much peril from the surrounding enemy from such distant places as La Soledad and Vera Cruz. Several hundred men, Mexican and French alike, died of disease in the interval, and the position of the invaders, who were themselves now being attacked in real earnest, became daily more and more serious.

In the meantime fresh reinforcements arrived from France, while among the impedimenta were a number of transport wagons which ought to have been sent out many months previously, but which had become either lost or damaged. The early disaster which had attended the French arms at Puebla (5th May) had, not unnaturally, caused a very unpleasant impression in France, and Napoleon determined to obviate anything of the kind recurring by sending out a sufficiency of men to meet what he considered the but temporarily adverse conditions. By General Forey was assumed the command of an additional 30,000 men, all of whom had arrived in Mexico without incident at Vera Cruz by 26th July 1862. But it was a considerable time before many of them could proceed up country to join General de Lorencez, principally on account of the interruption which had occurred to his line of communication.

Napoleon put as good a face, outwardly, upon the Puebla matter as he could manage, and he wrote an encouraging

GENERAL JUAN ALMONTE
MAXIMILIAN'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO NAPOLEON III

letter to General de Lorencez (15th June), in the course of which he observed: ‘It is the fortune of war to be successful one day and unfortunate the next; but do not allow that to distress you. The honour of the country is at stake, and you will be supported by all the reinforcements that you can call for. Tell the troops that although I am far away from them, I am watching their movements with the greatest solicitude.’

This was the form of the emperor's private communication to General de Lorencez; but, officially, he wrote, through the Minister of War, Marshal Randon (30th June), that ‘he totally disapproved of the Puebla affair, and especially of the employment of artillery at a distance of 2500 metres from the fortifications.’ The general was further advised to cease quarrelling with M. de Saligny, and to cultivate more friendly relations with General Almonte and other French general officers. The stiff and formal letter concluded by intimating that General Forey would soon sail to take supreme command, and that until that time arrived and he (de Lorencez) had been relieved of his duties, he had better endeavour to reorganise his powers of resistance and look after his provisioning arrangements a little more carefully.

The receipt of this typically Napoleonic communication annoyed General de Lorencez so much that he demanded permission from the Minister of War to return to France; his application, bearing date 9th August, was granted. Marshal Randon, who had been an intimate friend of the general, attempted to pour oil upon the troubled waters, but the affair had gone too far. Not only was the fact that the emperor had expressed his displeasure with the conduct of the war by General de Lorencez known and publicly commented upon in the principal French newspapers, and in a spirit entirely unfavourable to the general, but the disagreements between the latter, General Almonte, and M. de Saligny, had likewise become subjects of public discussion. In spite, therefore, of the soothing advice tendered by Marshal Randon to General de Lorencez to remain in

Mexico, he still pressed for permission to return; and following the disembarkation of General Forey at Vera Cruz on 24th September, General de Lorencez left that port for France (10th November), to the infinite regret of his officers and men, who entertained for him feelings of the warmest affection and regard. General de Lorencez may be regarded as forming the first, but only one, among the many gallant and capable Frenchmen who were sacrificed upon the altar of Napoleon's overweening ambition, combined with his ignorance regarding military matters, whether conducted at home or in foreign lands.

CHAPTER IX

General Forey in supreme command—Improved French arrangements—Death of General Zaragoza—Investment of Puebla (16th March)—General Douay's task—Battle of San Pablo (5th May)—Surrender of Puebla (19th May)—Heavy capture of Mexican prisoners—The Mexican parôle d'honneur—General Porfirio Diaz—March upon Mexico City—Triumphal entry of French troops—Proclamation of the Mexican Empire (10th July)—Recall of General Forey—French losses up to date.

The second phase of the Mexican campaign, from the autumn of 1862 to the 1st of October 1863, was conducted under the auspices of Napoleon's much-esteemed officer General (afterwards Marshal) Forey. The troops employed consisted of two divisions of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, and two regiments of marines. General Forey (General of Division) was in supreme authority and in command of the first division of infantry, which comprised the eighteen battalions of light infantry (chasseurs à pied), the 1st regiment of Zouaves, and the 81st regiment of the line.

The troops accompanying the Commander-in-Chief numbered altogether 8000 men and 900 horses, while the whole effective expeditionary force then in Mexico, including the new arrivals, up to the 1st January 1863, amounted to 29,146 men, with 5845 horses and 529 mules, a total which may be compared with that of 3310 which, under Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, had been considered sufficient to quell the dissenting Mexicans when the French intervention was first put into execution in the month of January of the year before.

It was perfectly clear that Napoleon had not in the least modified his ideas regarding the subjugation of Mexico, and before General Forey left France he was the recipient of a very lengthy and complete list of instructions regarding his mission (dated from Fontainebleau, 3rd July 1862), signed by the emperor himself.

Napoleon took good care that General Forey should not have to meet and overcome similar difficulties to those which confronted and finally overwhelmed General de Lorencez, by being placed under the instructions of and, therefore made subservient to, the French Minister in Mexico. Not so, however, with General Almonte, concerning whom and his form of 'government' *ad interim* Napoleon has issued no instructions. The first step taken, therefore, by General Forey was to publicly denounce the 'government'—if it can be so considered—of General Almonte, and to repudiate any and every act which it had promulgated. Following the usual methods, he also issued a flamboyant proclamation to the Mexican nation, which, eloquently as it breathed of the 'peaceful intentions' actuating the French emperor, and accentuating as it sought to do the 'love which he bore for Mexico and the gallant Mexicans,' was received with the same display of popular indifference, and provoked the same ridicule among the foreign settlement, as had characterised the reception accorded to similar effusions upon the part of the three representatives (General Prim, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, and Commodore Dunlop), and of General de Lorencez, when issued by them upon earlier occasions.

Even in France, where the latest composition was soon afterwards published, an unfavourable opinion was created, and the gallant author received his first official snub in the form of a letter from the Minister of War,[1] disapproving of the manifesto, and counselling the general 'not to abuse the privilege of issuing proclamations.'

The fiery General Zaragoza having died in September of his wounds received during the attack upon Puebla, the command of the Mexican army had now fallen to General Ortega (formerly Governor of Zacatecas). General Forey, therefore, thought that it would be the proper thing to send a copy of his latest proclamation, with a covering letter, to the Mexican General; but, much to his mortification, both letter and enclosure were returned to him within a few hours, accompanied by an intimation from the recipient that 'such communication, on account of its character and language, could not be allowed to remain among the archives of the Mexican Government.'

---

[1] Letter from Marshal Randon to General Forey, 30th December 1862.

Perceiving that nothing was to be obtained from the Mexican chiefs by flattery or further fulsome expressions of good-will, General Forey set about the task of disposing his various troops to the best advantage for the more complete occupation of the country. Some five thousand four hundred men under General de Berthier left Vera Cruz to take up different positions, the town of Jalapa, formerly the capital of Vera Cruz State, being among those thus occupied. Another expedition was despatched to Tampico, the second most important port in Mexico (Vera Cruz being the first), while General Douay marched towards the town of Puebla which, for the second time, was to be besieged by the French. The ultimate idea was to concentrate the whole of the three sections of the expeditionary force before the walls of the town, and by the middle of March 1863 these had assembled, with the determination to bring the place into subjection.

The investment of Puebla commenced on 16th March, and the first encounter of any consequence between the opposing forces was the battle of Cholula, which took place on the 22nd, when two hundred Mexican troops were killed and fifty were taken prisoners. The French troops (the second regiment of the line), who had fought with great bravery under the leadership of Colonel du Barail, lost but three men killed and nineteen wounded, the latter including two officers.

Then followed—one week later—the capture of the fort of San Javier (29th March), the indecisive battle of Atlixco (14th April), the attack upon the convent of Santa Inez (on the 25th,) and the battle of San Pablo on the 5th May, exactly one year, to the day, since the French had experienced their first reverse, and had been repulsed, before the walls of the same town. On the 8th was fought the battle of San Lorenzo, when the French troops under General Bazaine struggled through the whole night and far into the next day against the Mexicans who were under the command of General Comonfort, and whose splendid resistance elicited the fullest admiration of the enemy.

The results of this combat were many and important. Terminating in the retreat of the Mexicans, who lost eight hundred men killed and wounded, practically all of the convoy and most of the equipment fell into the hands of the victorious French commander, including three flags, eleven pennons, eight pieces of cannon, and eleven hundred prisoners, of whom seventy-one were officers. On the side of the French the losses proved much less severe, amounting in fact to but one officer and ten men killed, and nine officers and eighty men wounded; while among the allied troops (the Mexicans fighting under the command of General Marquez) the losses amounted to five men killed and eighteen wounded.

Notwithstanding the heavy losses sustained by the Liberals, the town of Puebla remained untaken. But Comonfort, in retreating, left the road open to further attacks upon the forts, and these were renewed with unrelenting vigour. The French troops worked at the trenches night and day between the 12th and 17th of May, when, the forts of Totimechuacán, Carmen, and Los Remedios having been reduced almost to ruins, General Mendoza, now in charge of the troops defending the town, demanded an armistice during which negotiations could be entered into for its surrender.

To this General Bazaine assented; but when it was suggested that the garrison should be permitted to march out with their arms and with the full honours of war, he point-blank refused. General Mendoza then returned to the town, and shortly afterwards a number of terrific explosions ensued. By the directions of General Ortega the troops were blowing up their stores of ammunition, destroying their cannon and levelling the forts. The general subsequently addressed a letter to General Bazaine (18th May) yielding the town and submitting himself, his officers, and troops as prisoners of war. The following day two flags were hoisted over the town, the French upon the right towers of the cathedral, and the Mexican upon the left. General Bazaine, at the head of his victorious troops, then entered the conquered town, being received at the doors of the town by the Mexican clergy, who solemnly performed a *Te Deum* in the cathedral, but whether out of gratitude or as an act of penance it is difficult to determine.

The French commander now found himself with an altogether embarrassing number of prisoners upon his hands. These comprised 26 generals, 303 senior officers, 1179 officers, and 1100 non-commissioned officers and men. He had also secured 150 pieces of canon.

How to deal with and feed this immense body of hostile guests became a difficult question. It was partially solved, however, by one thousand of the rank and file being enrolled among the forces of General Marquez. It is not usually a very complex matter to persuade a Mexican to fight against the side upon which he had previously been engaged, nor to induce him to abandon 'the sacred cause of freedom,' and 'the glorious constitutions of the fatherland,' for a more or less remunerative engagement with the opposition.

Among the captured officers there were a considerable number who were granted their liberty on parole; these had promised to report themselves at Puebla on the 13th June. Of the 1508 who thus solemnly pledged their word, but 950 kept to it, these latter including 22 of the 26 generals, 228 of the 303 senior officers, and 700 of the 1179 subordinate officers. By the time the prisoners—still on parole—had reached Vera Cruz, their number had further diminished to 500! This exemplified the standard of morality attained by the Mexican officer in 1863. How much it has improved since has been proved by affairs of more recent occurrence in the same country.

The spirit of loyalty is more cultivated among the higher ranks of the Mexicans, a fact which was proved in a striking manner in the month of February 1913, at the time of the revolution organised against President Francisco Madero. After that unfortunate Chief Magistrate had been assassinated —it is charged by the orders of his successor General Huerta —ninety-one of Madero's officers, who had been offered the choice of recognising the new government or being executed as 'rebels,' without a single exception chose death. One by one they were led out and shot in cold blood, most of them likewise declining to have their eyes bandaged, and facing their executioners with the utmost bravery. The remainder of the men were sent to labour in the railway workshops as prisoners of war, and without pay.

The siege of Puebla has been condemned upon several grounds by competent authorities, of those as of later days. It has been described as a military blunder of a bad description, and as reflecting but little credit upon the victors. Count Emile de Kératry, writing in 1868, has pointed out, for example, that the siege ought not to have lasted for sixty-two days—three days longer than that of Saragossa; that but for the fortunate attack upon the fort of Totimechuacán, which caused the final fall of the town, the siege would probably not have been over for many months, and that the French troops must then inevitably have passed the winter in front of the entrenchments—deluged with the daily torrents of rain which visit the country at these seasons. Further, the supply of cannon was altogether inadequate; but this point was not noticed until after the siege had actually commenced, when it became necessary to send Commandant Bruat to procure rifled guns of large calibre from the fleet stationed at Vera Cruz.

General Forey, according to this same French critic, ought to have avoided Puebla altogether, and have devoted his whole attention to the taking of Mexico City, which, owing to the troops tarrying unnecessarily on the road, had almost completed its preparations for a long and vigorous defence, while the State-capitals, instead of being afforded time for putting themselves into an excellent condition of resistance, influenced by a quick and effective reduction of the capital, would thus have saved the French much heavy expenditure and the loss of numerous lives in subduing them later on. As it was, the Southern States became so many hotbeds of insurrection, and continued in this condition, more or less, so long as the French troops remained in the country.

The principal defender of Puebla had been General Porfirio Diaz, and the French were particularly anxious to secure his arrest. But Porfirio, aware of the heavy price that had been placed upon his head, managed to escape to the South, and, in conjunction with his brother Felix, shut himself within the city of Oaxaca, the capital of the State of that name, which he proceeded to place in an admirable state of defence. It was his own native town, for there in a humble cottage and of poor but honest Indian parents, Porfirio had been born thirty-three years previously.

For almost two years General Diaz successfully defied the French army, and so formidable proved his resistance that General Bazaine (who, it may be here observed, entertained a sincere admiration for the gallant Mexican officer who so successfully resisted his utmost efforts to effect his capture) despatched one of the largest forces which he could spare, together with an imposing train of siege artillery, against the town of Oaxaca. Nevertheless it was only on 5th February 1865 that Diaz was obliged to capitulate.

Up to the taking of Puebla, the French troops had encountered considerable losses. From the commencement of the campaign, 18 officers and 167 men had been killed; 79 officers and 1039 men had been wounded (and many of the latter subsequently died of their injuries). There certainly had been but small occasion for that outburst of unrestrained joy upon the part of the French populace when the news of the fall of Puebla became known in Paris, nor yet for the exultant letter which was addressed by Napoleon to General Forey (12th June 1863). The emperor's hysterical congratulations later on became more rare; on the other hand, his letters of blame and criticism were not only more frequent but much more virulent. Few could withstand defeats and disappointments with a worse grace than Napoleon, nor resist the temptation to exult unduly when fortune favoured his cause.

Puebla having at length fallen and been occupied, the steps of the French army were next directed to the capital. By the first day of June the troops were within a distance of seven leagues of the city of Mexico, and General Forey, following the custom of other French commanders throughout this campaign, promulgated a flowery declaration setting forth the amiable intentions of his august master the emperor towards the Mexican people. In other directions his emissaries within the city's gates worked well for his cause, succeeding in producing a certain amount of enthusiasm among the Indian population, which, when liberally supplied with *pulque* (the native rum), as was the case upon this occasion, will do anything for anybody. As a well-known Parisian author had pointed out, however, 'the French paid ready cash' for these demonstrations in their favour, an exhibition of public confidence which they evidently thought it worth while to secure.

Notwithstanding the 'popular manifestations' in Mexico City, intended to impress the dissentient portion of the inhabitants and to create abroad a favourable opinion of the intervention, both Napoleon and the Archduke Maximilian felt satisfied in their own minds that the great bulk of the population were inimical to the establishment of a monarchy. This point of view is clearly revealed by the contents of a letter which was addressed to General Bazaine by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, bearing date 17th August 1863, wherein he observes :

'Nous avons accueilli avec plaisir la manifestation des notables de Mexico en faveur de l'établissement d'une monarchie et le nom du prince appelé à l'Empire. Cependant, ainsi que je vous l'indique dans une précédente dépêche, nous ne saurions considérer les votes de cette assemblée que comme un premier indice des dispositions du pays. Avec toute l'autorité qui s'attache aux hommes qui la composent, l'Assemblée recommande à ses concitoyens l'adoption d'institutions monarchiques et elle désigne un prince à ses suffrages.'

On 4th June the French troops were before the gates of the capital, with General Bazaine at their head, while on the 10th he had triumphantly entered the city. Another manifesto, consisting of nearly four thousand words, was issued and placarded throughout the capital; it commenced with an abundance of fair promises, as usual, and concluded with dire threats, also as usual, against any one and every one who refused to accept the French troops as their saviours and masters, and who failed to regard the establishment of a monarchy as their future government. The Commander-in-Chief lost no time in organising the local authority (which acted entirely under French supervision), establishing by decree a Superior Committee of twenty-five members, and a second body composed of two hundred and fifteen members, who were selected with great discrimination and little likely to offer any opposition to the proceedings of their new rulers. The press were warned not to indulge in any unfavourable criticism under pain of punishment; the new rulers of Mexico declared in force the same drastic regulations respecting newspapers which were then existent in France. Courts-martial were established with the fullest powers, and there could be no appeal from their summary judgments.

On 10th June the Imperialists, composed of the Conservatives or Church party, known as the 'Mochos' ('cropped'), and who had always been deadly opponents of the Liberals, formed a provisional government of their own, with Teodosio Larès as president, with José Maria Andráde and Alejandro Arango y Escandón as the Ministers. The full executive body was subsequently completed by the appointment of the Archbishop of Mexico (Monsignor Pelagio de Labastida), General José Mariano Salas, General Almonte, Señor Juan B. Ormalchea, the Bishop of Tulancingo, and the lawyer Ignacio Pavon as additional members.

On the 11th July (1863) the ‘Proclamation of the Empire’ was issued, after which the provisional government adopted the title of ‘Regency of the Empire.’ Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was pronounced the first emperor, and this new important step in the destiny of Mexico was initiated with ‘great rejoicings’ upon the part of the public—so weary of governmental changes that one form of administration appeared to them as acceptable or as detestable as another. A way was thus paved for the arrival of Napoleon’s nominee in his new kingdom.

By the first days of July there had been established ‘la Junta Superior,’ or Supreme Council, consisting of thirty-five persons who had been chosen from a list of two hundred and fifteen found fit and willing to serve. By the 8th, the first assembly had been called, and the new government was thus formally inaugurated. The first decree to be issued bore the date 11th July, and had reference to the establishment of the second monarchical form of government since Mexico won her position as an independent State, the first having been created in 1822 when Augustin Iturbide declared himself emperor, and whose career terminated with his expulsion in 1823, and, shortly afterwards, with his execution as a result of having returned to Mexico when he had been forbidden to do so.

The Decree of 11th July 1863, which consisted of four short clauses, read as follows:

1. ‘The Mexican Nation adopts as its form of government a moderate, hereditary monarchy under a Catholic Prince.
2. ‘The sovereign will take the title of Emperor of Mexico.
3. ‘The Imperial Crown of Mexico is offered to his Imperial and Royal Highness Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants.
4. ‘If, owing to circumstances impossible to be foreseen, (Ferdinand) Maximilian should not take possession of the throne offered to him, the Mexican Nation throws itself upon the benevolence of His Majesty Napoleon, Emperor of the French, begging that he may designate some other Catholic Prince.’

This Decree was accompanied by another bearing the same date, nominating a regency pending the arrival of the new emperor in his dominions. The name of ‘ Regency ’ had been substituted for that of the ‘ Provisional Government,’ while its *personnel* remained unchanged.

One of the first acts of this body was to nominate a Commission charged to proceed to Europe, in order to personally present a petition to Maximilian begging him to accept the crown of Mexico, and to make the necessary arrangements for his journey thither as soon as possible. The eight members of the Commission chosen were : José M. Gutierrez de Estrada, José Hidalgo, Antonio Escandón, Tomás Morphy, General Woll, Ignacio Aguilar, Joaquín Velasquez de Leon, Francisco Miranda, and Angel Iglésias, the last acting as secretary.

Señor José M. Gutierrez de Estrada had for many years advocated the restoration of the monarchy as the only solution for Mexico’s political troubles, and he had, as a consequence, incurred the hostility of the Republicans, and, under the presidency of Bustamente, suffered much persecution.

The first four members of the Commission sailed upon 15th August from Vera Cruz for various parts of Europe, in order to propitiate foreign opinion in favour of the new government, while the others left on 16th August viâ San Nazario for Trieste, Austria, where they arrived early in the month of October.

In the meantime the Republican government under Benito Juarez, no matter how much it was declared to be ‘ officially dead ’ by the French general, continued its existence and maintained its authority at the considerable town of San Luis Potósi, the capital of the State of the same name, and located at a safe distance from the city of Mexico of three hundred and sixty-two miles.

General Forey soon found that the greater part of the population still recognised the Juarez government and that government alone ; to its treasury was paid the direct taxation which could be enforced at this difficult period, and to its members were addressed the diplomatic communications received from most of the other nations of the world. The United States ignored the French-instituted and protected imperial administration from the first, refusing all overtures to accredit a representative to the court of Maximilian. On the other hand, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States (Mr. Thomas Corwin), recognised the administration of Juarez as the one and only constitutional government in the State.

Thus things continued until the month of October 1863, when Marshal Forey, who had now been promoted to the higher rank by his appreciative sovereign, was recalled to France, and General Bazaine was appointed to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Mexico.

The authority conferred upon the latter was greater, inasmuch as there devolved upon him the performance of the diplomatic duties hitherto entrusted to M. de Saligny, who speedily followed Marshal Forey on his return home. Neither of these high officers quite understood the reason of their recall, and neither wished to leave Mexico until some practical results of their work there had been enjoyed.

The unfortunate M. de Saligny, whose whole diplomatic career in Mexico had proved a complete failure, endeavoured vainly to obtain a change in his instructions; but these were repeated in an even more emphatic manner, M. Drouyn de l'Huys (the Minister for Foreign Affairs) having notified him upon three different occasions that his services were no longer required, the last letter of recall intimating that even if the Minister to Mexico resigned his position, he was still to leave the country and at once, not even pausing to await the arrival of the Marquis de Monthalon, who had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico in his place.

Three weeks after handing over his command to General Bazaine, Marshal Forey sailed (24th October) from Vera Cruz.

The return journey was not made without adventure. Accompanying the general were Baron de Beaulieu and a considerable suite. While proceeding on their way from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, the whole party were attacked by brigands, one of the officers—Baron d'Huart, who was attached to the service of the Comte de Flandres (brother of the Empress of Mexico)—being killed. Marshal Forey was also wounded, and some of his staff were considerably injured. The whole party had to return to Mexico City in order to receive proper medical attention.

Before we dismiss Marshal Forey from the pages of this history and take up the record of the Mexican campaign under the command of General Bazaine, we may perhaps be permitted to recapitulate the details of the actual cost to France in men (employed both upon land and sea), that is to say, from the date upon which the first portion of the expedition sailed from France—November 1861—to the first day of October 1863.

The battle losses incurred by the army amounted to 47 officers and 283 men killed; 40 officers and 1370 men had died of sickness and injuries: total army deaths, 1740. The losses in the navy had proved even more considerable, the total number amounting to 2017 entered as 'dead or missing.'

CHAPTER X

General Bazaine—Early career—Services in Algeria and the Crimea—Condition of affairs in Mexico upon his arrival—Opposition of the Church party—Quarrel with Archbishop Labastida—Arrest of General Santa Anna — Juarez's increasing difficulties — General Vidaurri—United States Government assists Liberals—Facilities for importing arms—General Cortiñas and the United States—Secretary Seward's denials refuted—Assurances to French Government.

François Achille Bazaine was born on the 11th February 1811, at a time when Europe was still smarting from the long struggle with Napoleon I. whose aggressive career was soon destined, however, to draw to a close. Like most young Frenchmen at that period, the thoughts of Bazaine were centred upon a military career, and it needed but little encouragement or persuasion to make warfare his pursuit. At the age of twenty he entered the army as a private soldier, and, two years afterwards (1833), one year after Maximilian of Austria was born, Bazaine received his first commission as a sub-lieutenant.

France was at this date engaged upon one of her periodical encounters with the North Africans, a struggle which had commenced as far back as 1617, when a French fleet, under Beaulieu, had been despatched to Algeria to put down the piracy which had become a standing menace to Europe. Young Bazaine soon distinguished himself by his great bravery as well as by his undoubted ability as a military leader, his exploits equalling, if they did not excel, in brilliancy those of his predecessors, Duquesne, Duperre, and Bourmont. He won the Cross of the Legion of Honour—which had been established by Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1802—and which, in those days, meant a great deal more

GENERAL (AFTERWARDS MARSHAL) FRANÇOIS
ACHILLE BAZAINE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN MEXICO
October 1863–February 1867

to the recipient than it does to-day—while he also was promoted lieutenant.

From Algeria, Bazaine accompanied his regiment to Spain, where (1837-1838), he took part in the war against the Carlists, returning to Africa once more in 1839, soon after the defeat of the French at the hands of the Emir. Here he remained for the next ten years, playing a prominent rôle in the spring campaign of 1840, when over eighty-five thousand French troops were gathered in Algiers; he was present at the destruction of Tekedemt, the principal stronghold of Abd-el-Kader, the capture of Mascara, and the demolition of the Saida fort. Then followed the taking of Tlemcen (1842) and Tafna and the gradual pacification of the now terrified country. Bazaine throughout these operations maintained his reputation as a brilliant soldier, a reputation which he gained under the generalship of the Duc d'Aumale, who in 1842 came out to take command, under Marshal Pelissier and in conjunction with General Lamoriuère. There are some historians who would attach to Bazaine a portion of the blame cast upon this above-named officer (Pelissier) for his act of brutality in ordering to be buried alive—or suffocated by smoke—in June of 1845 a band of five hundred Arabs who had, in fleeing from the French, sought refuge in the mouth of a cave. While there is no question that this barbarous deed was performed, and that among the tribe immolated were many women and children, there is no evidence which convicts Bazaine of any participation in the crime. Purposeless cruelty was certainly no trait of this great soldier's character, although a certain amount of obstinacy might be more truthfully laid to his charge.

Bazaine's other notable exploits were performed in the Crimea (1853-1856), where he commanded a brigade and distinguished himself greatly in the trenches of Sebastopol. When the south side was captured (8th September 1855), mainly by his efforts and strategy, he received the well-deserved reward of the governorship of that naval station, and at the same time he was promoted general of division.

We next hear of Bazaine's great military services in Lombardy in 1859, and here, again, his reputation as a successful organiser and a skilful handler of large masses of troops was well sustained. He arrived in that distracted country soon after Radetsky had defeated the King of Sardinia and had regained Lombardy for the Austrians, and during his stay he witnessed its union with Italy, to be followed by that of Venice in 1866.

Although Bazaine must have arrived in Lombardy almost at the time that Maximilian and Charlotte, who had reigned there for two years (1857-1859), were leaving it, there is no proof that the three—who were destined to play so important a part in the life of each other—met. Bazaine led a very strenuous existence in the Austrian (Lombardo-Venetian) provinces, being seriously wounded while in command of the third division of the first corps in the attack upon Melegnano, while he also took a conspicuous part in the battle of Solferino, 24th June 1859, where he shared the honour of the day with Macmahon and Niel, his portion of the rewards, which were distributed broadcast, being the then much-coveted Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

When General (afterwards Marshal) Forey received the command of the *corps d'armée* operating in Mexico (1862), General Bazaine accompanied him, and, later on, when his superior was recalled to France in October of the following year, Bazaine took over the command-in-chief, at the same time assuming the functions which had hitherto devolved upon M. de Saligny, who likewise was ordered to return to France with Forey.

There can be no question that the period at which Bazaine found himself in full charge of the French army of occupation was a highly critical one. Although dispersed and defeated time after time, the Juarist forces reformed themselves and returned again and again to harass the invader, as often as not in wholly unexpected places; hundreds of bandits infested the country, while the roads leading to the principal towns, and all of the coach routes conducting to the coast, were swarming with Mexican cut-throats, among whom were to be found a sprinkling of Europeans—deserters from the French, Belgian, and Austrian legions, as well as some 'mean-whites' of United States nationality—and all of whom maintained a constant and merciless warfare with the regular troops. Additionally, the results of Marshal Forey's wavering and unpopular policy regarding those Mexicans who had so loyally supported the French when they first came to the country, were visited upon his successor, and Bazaine found himself alienated from the strongest party of the day and bound to the least dependable but most exacting, that of the Church, which, led by the intriguing Monsignor Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, continually played for its own ends, indifferent alike to the success of the new imperial régime and the dictates of patriotism.

On the other hand, Bazaine's great reputation as an organiser and an intrepid fighter had preceded him, and he soon won the hearts of the Mexican soldiery, as much upon this account as for his strong personal charm of manner, his proverbial good-humour, and his readiness to grant reasonable concessions where asked for. Moreover, Bazaine spoke Spanish with remarkable fluency, although he wrote it with less facility. He had made a close study of the language during the last Spanish war (1837-8); it is one which few Frenchmen find difficult owing to its close affinity in all but pronunciation with their own. Thus the commander-in-chief was enabled to enter into direct communication with the Mexican rank and file, to make a more complete study of their idiosyncracies, and to learn more about their secret plottings than would otherwise have been possible. While the native officers no doubt disliked Bazaine as an individual and a foreigner, they entertained for him a very profound respect as a gallant soldier. Marquez, Méjìa, Miramón, as well as Juarez, Diaz, and Espinoza (Liberal officers) have all testified to this sentiment.

General Bazaine subsequently married a wealthy Mexican lady, a near relation of President Juarez, a circumstance which naturally enough gave rise to suspicions regarding his loyalty to Maximilian and the imperial cause.

From the time that he took over the command of the French forces in Mexico (1st October 1863), Bazaine's position, as we have said, was an exceedingly difficult one. He was saddled with all the duties of a soldier in charge of an unpopular occupation as well as with the mission of a diplomat representing the dignity of France. While instructed, as had been his predecessors in office, 'not to interfere with the internal government of Mexico,' his commonest duties continually called for opposition to the acts of the native government. In fact, he had to plan out a policy almost entirely different from that which the Imperialists had hitherto been pursuing, and to see that the numerous abuses which existed, as well as the widespread official corruption which prevailed, were suppressed as much as possible. He could never have hoped to overcome them entirely.

His associates in the provincial government, General Almonte and General Salas, while not proving difficult to work with as coadjutors, evinced but little desire to incur individual responsibility, preferring to leave all initiative to Bazaine, and thereafter to bitterly criticise his mistakes and ridicule his misfortunes. From the date of the return to Mexico of the archbishop, Monsignor Labastida, who had been travelling in Europe in connection with the Mexican Mission to Miramar, Bazaine's difficulties became greatly accentuated. In his dual capacity of temporary Minister of Justice and Minister of the Interior, the archbishop possessed ample power and abundant opportunities to oppose any new legislation of which he disapproved, and he availed himself of such powers to the fullest extent. In the end, Bazaine found it absolutely necessary to remove the archbishop from his administrative positions, an act which drew upon him the execration of the whole Church party, and elicited the most determined opposition to his every enactment or proposal.

The respective duties of these assistants were clearly defined, and their offices as explicitly indicated. The archbishop had insisted upon holding the double portfolio of

Minister of Justice and Minister of the Interior, and no sooner had he been installed in his new position than he commenced to run foul of his colleagues, who, at the suggestion and with the assistance of General Bazaine, expelled the archbishop from his offices. The latter, upon being refused admission to the councils of the Provisional Government, publicly declared that 'any acts passed or measures put into force without his consent were to be considered as null and void.'

The effect upon the public mind of these early dissensions was of the worst description; and finding it necessary to do something to bring about, at any rate, an outward show of peace, General Bazaine induced Generals Almonte and Salas to publish a decree to the effect that, 'pending the arrival of the sovereign in Mexico, the legal enactments which were introduced during the rule of Marshal Forey shall continue in force.'

From this time may be said to have dated the bitter opposition offered by the Church party to the French intervention. They had been ready enough to welcome it when it was believed that Napoleon's policy included the restoration to the Church of the enormously rich landed and other properties which the Liberal Government of Mexico—under several successive presidents—had compelled them to relinquish. All efforts to reconcile the archbishop to the situation, and to induce him to refrain from opposing French actions in Mexico, failed; Monsignor Labastida proved an implacable and unscrupulous opponent, and the unfortunate position in which Maximilian found the country when he eventually arrived in June of 1864 was mainly attributable to this scheming and unprincipled churchman.

General Bazaine at this time was compelled to leave the capital in order to take personal command of the expeditionary columns into the interior, where their presence was required in order to overcome the determined and fast-spreading agitation of the Liberals against the institution of the monarchy and further intervention by the French. He left the Provisional Government in the weak hands of Generals Salas and Almonte, whose every act was countered by the irreconcilable archbishop, thus producing a situation both ridiculous and extremely dangerous.

It was towards the end of November 1863 that the Commander-in-Chief left Mexico City with his first division, consisting of 9750 men; the remainder of the French troops in Mexico, who now numbered in all 47,667, and of whom 42,000 were under arms, were distributed throughout the country, some being quartered in the *tierra-caliente* (the hot country), where many were dying rapidly from heat and disease.

Early in January of 1864 Bazaine returned to the capital, only to find it in the same hopeless condition, politically and civilly, as that in which he had left it. All the way thither he had had to fight the numerous guerrilla corps which harassed his steps, and in this manner he lost a great many of his men, and others from exhaustion and sickness. He summoned General Miramón from Guadalajara, where he had been resting, and he also got into communication with General Antonio Santa Anna, who had arrived in the country from exile. Both Miramón and Santa Anna had served as Chief Magistrate of the Republic, the former for a few months only, the latter from 1833 to 1844, and again from 1846 to 1847, when he voluntarily resigned. His bad record was well known to Bazaine, who, notwithstanding the fervid protestations on the part of Santa Anna respecting his devotion to the monarchical cause, declined to bestow any kind of office upon that cruel and cordially-hated ex-president. On the other hand, as soon as Santa Anna commenced a political crusade upon his own account, Bazaine ordered his arrest and deportation upon a French man-of-war to the safe distance of the island of Cuba.

While Bazaine thus found himself plunged in a veritable sea of difficulties, the French troops failed to make any real headway in pacifying the country, since no sooner had they taken one town at considerable trouble and loss of life than it was reoccupied by the Liberals almost before the last French bayonet had disappeared. The persistent obstruction of the Church party, and the numerous fraternity of priests whose influence then, as now, upon the ignorant mind was enormously powerful; the obstinate attitude adopted by the municipal authorities in the States, which had outwardly encouraged the monarchical form of government, but strenuously objected to yield obedience to the French officials—all these and countless other embarrassments occupied Bazaine's closest attention and every waking hour. Colossal was the task which Napoleon had thoughtlessly cast upon him; accustomed though he was to handle men and to exact submission, the very multitude of his servitors, and the persistency with which they obstructed him, were proving more than he could control or endure.

But if Bazaine's situation was a trying one, that of President Juarez proved hardly less so. Continually pursued by the French columns sent against him, Juarez was hunted from pillar to post, establishing his 'government' at San Luis Potósi only to have to disband it, and to flee at a few hours' notice to Real del Catorce, and from there to retreat as precipitately to some other temporary refuge, approaching always nearer and nearer to the American border and receding further from his own capital.

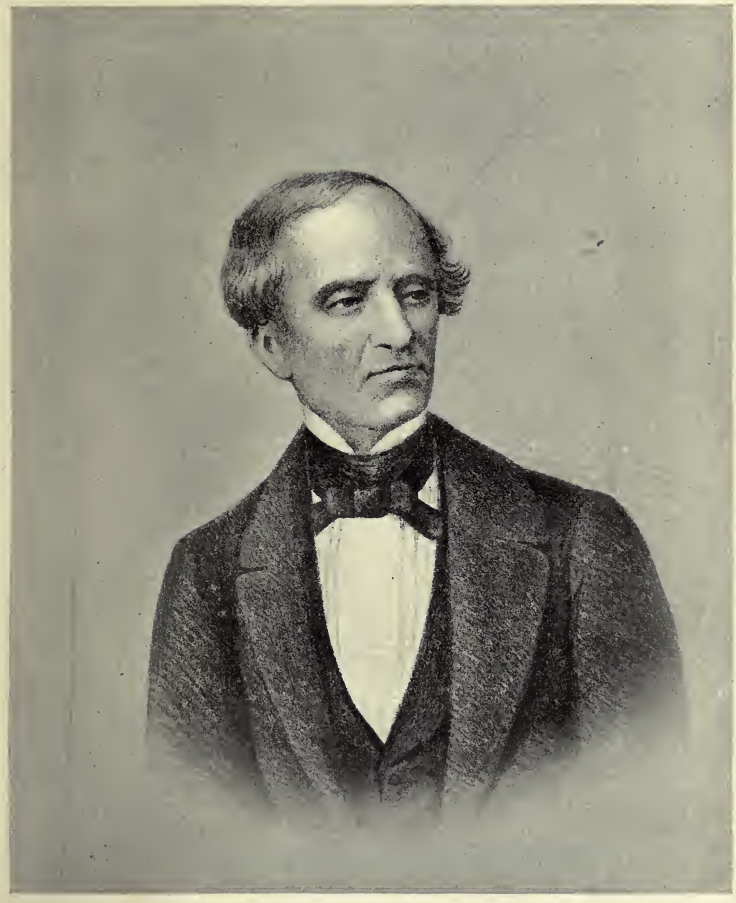
To carry on an effective administration under such conditions was manifestly impossible. He would have settled at Monterey, the capital of the State of Nuevo Leon, one of the most orderly and best-governed of the Mexican provinces; but he was politely invited by the governor, General Vidaurri, to 'pass on,' since Monterey was inclined to become an imperial stronghold, and the Liberal president would naturally prove *persona non grata.* For this act of loyalty to the cause of Maximilian, General Vidaurri was made to pay a terrible penalty later on.

Some historians have presented Vidaurri in an altogether unfavourable light, accusing him of attempting to play a double game, in other words, with endeavouring to sell himself to the side which would pay the most: I can, however, find no greater justification for this hostile view than the fact that when Bazaine, deeming Vidaurri (from his act of repulsing Juarez) to be an ardent devotee of the monarchy, invited him so to ‘declare himself,’ the general protested that he would neither do nor say anything definite until he had taken the individual opinions of the people of the State. With this view he ordered a *plebiscite*, inviting every man and woman to record his or her vote, ‘yea’ or ‘nay,’ in favour of or against the imperial government.

Before his project could be put into execution, however, Juarez once more approached the town of Monterey, which, this time, fell before him, and Vidaurri was compelled to fly for his life, taking refuge in the neighbouring North-American State of Texas with his lieutenant, Quiroga. Later on Vidaurri enlisted definitely under the banner of Maximilian; but Bazaine never forgave him for what he believed to have been an act of duplicity in abandoning the important town of Monterey, together with an immense amount of military equipment, ready money, and very valuable State documents, to President Juarez.

The capture of Monterey proved, as may well be understood, of great moment to the president, who found in its full coffers and well-stocked store-houses exactly what he most grievously lacked—funds with which to pay his men their long over-due wages, and food to fill their empty stomachs. Further, the State documents which fell into his hands proved very advantageous, since they disclosed a great deal of information which Juarez had most desired to learn.

But his troubles, even if somewhat alleviated, remained still considerable. Among his own *entourage* there were powerful malcontents; Doblado, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, continually urged Juarez to resign the presidency in favour of General Jesus G. Ortega, formerly President of the Supreme Court, while intrigues and plots were being formed and carried out all around him. His life was not infrequently in danger from the knife of the assassin, although no attack was ever made upon him; but with that pertinacity characteristic of the half-breed Indian, he clung to his post, allowing nothing to shake his determination.



SEÑOR DON J. M. GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA
WHO HEADED THE DEPUTATION TO MAXIMILIAN AT MIRAMAR

The principal French forces operating in the interior of the country immediately anterior to the arrival of Maximilian and Charlotte (June 1864) were at this period composed as follows: On the French and imperial side were General de Castagny, commanding one column of the 17th and 20th battalions of Chasseurs, the 3rd Zouaves, the 57th and 95th regiments of the line, and two squadrons of cavalry: a second column, under General Douay, was composed of the 1st battalion of Chasseurs, a battalion of Algerian sharpshooters, a battalion of the 62nd regiment of the line, one of the 99th regiment of the line, the 2nd regiment of Zouaves, and three squadrons of cavalry.

The native troops fighting upon the imperial side were commanded by General Marquez (acting with General de Castagny), who had about 4500 cavalry and infantry, and General Méjìa (who was acting with General Douay) with about 2300 men. Thus the total forces operating in the interior of the Republic represented some 14,000 French and 17,000 Mexicans.

On the other hand, President Juarez could account for between forty and fifty thousand men and a considerable armament, his principal officers including the—even at that time—celebrated General Porfirio Diaz, General Negrete, General Uruaga, General d'Alvarez, Colonel Valdez, and others, some of whom left an indelible record of bravery among the annals of the Republic.

While Maximilian's government was practically bankrupt and knew not where to look for money with which to carry on the administration or to pay the army, Benito Juarez became more fortunately placed. Apart from the fact that he enjoyed the revenues, such as they were, derived from the port dues and customs houses at all but three of the ports of the Republic, and was also enabled to extract from Liberal supporters much larger financial contributions than they would have felt disposed to pay to a foreigner, he was being secretly financed by the United States, just as he was surreptitiously supplied with arms from the same quarter, and offered temporary refuge whenever he found it convenient to cross over the border. Nor did such assistance stop there. A large number of American citizens, especially men from Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, enlisted in the Mexican ranks, serving in many cases without regular pay, and depending for their reward upon the amount of loot which they might be sufficiently fortunate to meet with. General Porfirio Diaz was allowed to purchase from the United States a complete park of American artillery, which he used with remarkably good effect upon the town of Puebla on the 3rd April 1867, being enabled, by the destruction then occasioned, to afterwards take possession of it.

The Juarists had entered into long and intricate negotiations with certain American capitalists, a fact not unknown to the United States Government, for a loan of $50,000,000, and to obtain this large amount they offered to transfer the considerable province of Lower California (Upper California had already passed under the ample folds of the Stars and Stripes in 1846), and the future plans of the Liberals were based upon the successful issue of this transaction. Gonzales Ortega, with ten thousand filibusters (among them being many citizens of the United States), armed with one hundred thousand muskets, forty pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of stores, was to enter the territory of Mexico by Piédras-Negras, so as to be able to attack the imperialist town of Zacatecas; Cortiñas was to assail Monterey and Saltillo, while Negrete was commissioned to take Tamaulipas and to penetrate as far as La Huesteca; and, finally, Corona was instructed to move down upon Culiacán.

The United States Government had, as mentioned, a complete knowledge of all these arrangements, which, indeed, were openly completed by the French consul at San Francisco; while General Miller, the United States Collector of Customs in that important city, officially authorised the transit and embarkation of the arms and stores which were being sent almost undisguisedly to the Mexican Liberal troops by Juarez's local agent.

When General Cortiñas, one of the Liberal leaders (who afterwards deserted to Maximilian's side), crossed the Rio Grande on 18th September (1864), in order to escape from the French forces operating from Bagdad, he was notified by the United States commanding officer at Bragos Santiago, that upon surrendering his arms and ammunition his party would be received as refugees, and that 'his presence in the territory of the United States as an armed enemy of a neutral power could not be tolerated.'

This perfectly proper attitude upon the part of the United States commanding officer compares somewhat strangely with the numerous undisguised and regular Mexican raids which were made by United States citizens living in New Orleans, who had formed themselves into a society known as 'the Defenders of the Monroe Doctrine (D.M.D.),' for the express purpose of transmitting contraband arms and ammunition towards the Mexican frontier at Brownsville on the Rio Grande, in open violation of the United States profession of neutrality.

The American authorities located near the border were accused of becoming participants in the acts and sharers in the not inconsiderable profits, General Herron, commanding at Brownsville, having, for instance, been publicly accused of taking the lion's share. Mr. Seward's subsequent official denial of the facts when they were brought to his notice by no means disproved the truth of the original statements. The Secretary of State, however, could hardly have acted otherwise, since he was in no position to put a stop to the proceedings, however wishful he might have been to do so.

Later Mr. Seward was made to appear extremely foolish, or, at least, deplorably ignorant, when, following his official denial of the 28th May 1864 (addressed to the Mexican Minister, M. L. de Geoffroy), wherein he had categorically stated 'there have been no violations of the United States professions in New Orleans,' a report was sent and published on 21st June from Major-General Banks (in command of the United States forces west of the Mississippi) admitting that 'goods have been seized upon the supposition that they were destined for a contraband trade with Mexico.' Moreover, General Herron, against whom the complaint of participation had been lodged and refuted by Mr. Seward, was on the following day (22nd June) removed from his authority at Brownsville, and transferred to the 13th corps, of which he was given the command in Louisiana.

The amicable relations existing between the Juarez government and the United States thus remained unbroken.

Writing to the United States Minister in Paris (Mr. William L. Dayton) on 21st June 1862, the Secretary of State (Mr. William H. Seward) said: 'We do not desire to suppress the fact that our sympathies are with Mexico, . . . nor do we in any sense, for any purpose, disapprove of her present form of government or distrust her administration.' Napoleon meanwhile was partly conciliated by the Washington Government, which refused to allow the open recruitment of men in the United States for Mexico, notwithstanding that upon a former memorable occasion the French authorities had permitted the shipment of a crew for the piratical vessel *Florida* when lying in a French port, this vessel being intended for the Confederate forces then at war with the Federal Government of the United States of America.

That the definite intentions of the Washington Cabinet were not clearly understood by the Cabinet at Paris seems probable, from the fact that, when Mr. Dayton visited the French Minister for Foreign Affairs (M. Drouyn de l'Huys) on 22nd April 1864, he was point-blank asked the question, 'Do you bring us peace or do you bring us war?' Mr. Dayton assumed some surprise at the question, an attitude which compared poorly with the resolutions passed by the Congress of his countrymen a few weeks previously, and the tenour of which had not unnaturally aroused the deepest suspicions of the French Government, whose extreme sensitiveness was only alleviated after Mr. Dayton had subsequently (2nd May) explained away the supposed serious news of the congressional proceedings.

CHAPTER XI

Political conditions in Mexico in 1860—Preponderance of ignorant Indians—Ex-President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna—Attempts at empire-building—Approach towards Imperialists repulsed—Overtures to Liberals also declined—Santa Anna flies the country—Landing at Vera Cruz—Arrest on United States vessel—Commander Roe of the *Virginia*—Further arrest at Yucatán—President Benito Juarez and the United States—Representations to Napoleon—Extreme nervousness at Paris—Hostility towards Maximilian.

Maximilian's arrival in his newly-adopted country was now due, and it may be advisable to consider briefly the conditions of the different parties whom he had undertaken to govern.

While it is impossible to deny that the political conditions existing in Mexico to-day are still unnerving, and may yet cause a second serious war between that country and the United States, in the early 'sixties the state of affairs was infinitely worse. Whereas to-day the greater part of the Republic's troubles may be traced to the socialistic teachings of anarchists, and to the provocative press of the Barcelona school, in the days of the Second Empire the Indians, who formed then, as they form now, seven-tenths of the entire population, were wholly illiterate and possessed absolutely no idea of the duties appertaining to citizenship in a modern democratic community. They were, moreover, under the complete dominion of the priests. To-day they are somewhat more advanced, since education has undoubtedly effected some slight improvement; under peaceful and settled conditions it might effect even much more. It is estimated that there are still about 10,000,000 illiterate Indians out of the 15,000,000 souls who compose the Republic's total population.

It will be recognised how responsive such material becomes in the hands of the demagogue and the socialist, as well as of the professional bandit and assassin. In regard to the facility with which revolutionary movements are organised, 'causes' created, and followers obtained, there is very little to choose between the Mexico of 1860 and the Mexico of 1913.

The agitator may wear a frock coat instead of the *poncho* or *zerape*, and a silk hat may replace the *sombrero*, but his methods are the same, the results of his teachings are as poisonous. There is to-day the same lack of strong, earnest, and self-sacrificing men to lead as existed in the time of the Second Empire, the intellectual minority being now, as then, swamped and rendered ineffective by the number and the nature of the rabble.

How hopeless, therefore, was the task which Maximilian had set himself, in all his ignorant enthusiasm, to perform, can be best realised by remembering the fact that the Mexicans, if they are an improving race at all, and as many of us would like to believe, improve so very slowly as to present the outward appearance of being almost hopeless laggards.

Periods of internecine struggle have often produced great deeds in action and thought, but throughout the Franco-Mexican contention of 1861-7, one may search the record in vain for evidence of any single incident of heroism, for any exhibition of self-sacrifice, or for any ennobling deed which deserves the distinction of being chronicled. Apart from the participation of the French, it was a war between individuals of the same nation, speaking the same language, and practising the same religion. It was conducted with great brutality upon both sides, proving, indeed, one of the most savagely-waged of the many internecine struggles which characterised Latin-America during the first fifty years of its evolution.

Bismarck, one of the greatest authorities upon war, as he was one of the greatest of warriors, declared that the real mass of the population is never inclined for war if the actual sufferings of heavy oppression have not provoked them. This cannot be said to have been the case in Mexico at the time that the French invaded it, for the disturbances were always more or less local, and order would no doubt have automatically re-established itself, as it had done many times before, and has done as many times since.

As early as January 1854, there had been a political movement organised in Mexico for the re-establishment of an empire. A document, bearing the title of 'The Plan of Guadalajara,' was drawn up and circulated among the different political departments and towns, declaring that 'on account of the continued plots of the enemies of public tranquillity and of the constant threats of the United States, and inasmuch as experience demonstrated the hostility of the Mexican people to the decrease of power on the part of the government, the term originally fixed as the limit of duration of the executive power should be prolonged for such time as the president (General Santa Anna) might think necessary.'

The tyrant General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was himself the author of this document, and he believed that the time was almost ripe for the putting into execution of his long-conceived idea of proclaiming himself emperor of Mexico. Undeterred by the fate of his ambitious predecessor, Augustin Iturbide, whose violent death ensued as a result of a similar movement, Santa Anna continued his preparations, and, as a preliminary act, had issued a decree (10th December 1853) declaring 'that the power of the president should be prolonged at his own pleasure, that he should have the right to designate his successor, and that his official title should be changed from "Excellency" to "Most Serene Highness."'

A week afterwards he issued a further manifesto, rehearsing the circumstances which had induced him to return to office from exile, and declaring that his determination to retire at the end of his term 'had been overcome by the unanimous wish and fervent prayer of his Council of State.' In deference to them, therefore, he had resolved to make a fresh sacrifice, simply because he believed it to be 'in the interest of the people and to the benefit of order and prosperity of the nation.'

Santa Anna had by now advanced his plans for a *coup d'état* sufficiently to allow him to announce his intention of assuming the title of 'Emperor Antonio I.,' but the continued protests against his oppressive authority—notwithstanding 'the unanimous wish and the fervent prayer of his Council of State'—successfully and permanently checked his final act of declaring for an empire with himself as the occupant of the throne.

Things became infinitely worse in Mexico as the year wore on. All through the final months of 1854, and up to the month of August 1855, the country remained in a state of continual convulsion, every conceivable crime and atrocity being perpetrated by roaming hordes of peasantry who had turned themselves into guerrillas; outrages were committed openly upon foreigners, especially upon the citizens of the United States, whose consulate flag at Tehuantepec was torn down and publicly insulted, while the finances of the country became chaotic.

On the 9th of August Santa Anna, realising that he was still the most-hated and most-distrusted man in Mexico, and that he stood in imminent peril of assassination at the hands of any one among his *entourage*, resolved upon flight. Under the pretext of quelling a fresh revolutionary outbreak against his authority in the State of Vera Cruz, but really as a protection against an organised attack upon his person, he left Mexico City with four hundred men upon whose fealty he believed he could rely. But his coward heart later on misgave him; for, upon reaching Perote, a small town (now served by the Interoceanic Railway of Mexico) situated at a distance of two hundred and sixty-six kilometres from Mexico City, he suddenly changed his plans. From here he issued a proclamation resigning the presidency, and depositing the reins of government in the hands of a triumvirate. In the dead of night he slunk away, entirely unattended, to Vera Cruz, a further distance of two hundred and eight kilometres, where he arrived on the 15th of August. Two days later he boarded a government steamer and took his way to Havana, Cuba, arriving there on the 20th, only, however, to again leave within forty-eight hours for Carácas, Venezuela.

The subsequent part which General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna played in the Maximilian affair was as mean and as discreditable as any of which that worthless individual has been convicted during his long political career. It may be recalled that in the month of July 1854 he had been the first to introduce the idea of a second monarchy, and after issuing a characteristically flamboyant manifesto,[1] he had despatched to Europe a special deputy—Señor José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada—commissioned to approach different royal heads with the purpose of tendering the crown of Mexico.[2] This he did in his capacity of President, or rather 'Dictator,' of the 'Republic,' and in flagrant violation of his constitutional oath.

---

[1] 'Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, well-merited of the country, General of Division, Grand Master of the National and Distinguished Order of Guadaloupe, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Distinguished Order of Charles III., and President of the Mexican Republic, to All who may see these presents, Greeting:

'Being authorised by the Mexican nation to constitute it under the form of government I may think most convenient to assure its territorial integrity and national independence, in the most advantageous and permanent manner, according to the full powers with which I am invested, and considering that no government is more suitable to a nation than that to which it has been accustomed for centuries and which has formed its peculiar customs;

'Therefore, to this end, placing full confidence in the patriotism, intelligence, and zeal of Don José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada, I confer upon him by these presents, the full powers necessary to enter into arrangements, and make the proper offers, near the Courts of London, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, to obtain from those governments, or from any one of them, the establishment of a Monarchy, derived from any of the royal races of those powers, under qualifications and conditions to be established by special instructions.

'In faith whereof, I have caused these presents to be issued, signed by my hand, authorised by the Seal of the Nation and countersigned by the Minister of Relations, all under the proper reserve, in the National Palace of Mexico, on the first of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-four.

'A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.'

[2] See Appendix VI.

Secondly, he recognised and supported the intervention which the Emperor of the French brought to Mexico. His numerous proclamations, replete with the false and exaggerated expressions common to the class of 'patriot' of which he was a shining example, breathe the most fulsome devotion to the, indeed to *any*, royal candidate, no matter who he might be or whence he might come. When the choice fell upon Maximilian of Austria, we find the delectable Santa Anna at once endorsing the selection; 'the candidate is unexceptionable, and of course I hasten to give him my approbation,' he wrote at the time.

But he went further, for he addressed a letter to the prince himself, dated the 22nd of December 1863, in which he expressed his great admiration for him personally, and made protests of submission of such a nature that they might serve as a model of epistolary style for despotic governments. In the following year he was still of the same mind regarding the blessings of a monarchy for Mexico, and he is found writing to Señor Juan de Diaz Peza, the emperor's Under Secretary of War and Marine, offering to 'co-operate as much as I can in the consolidation of the government created by the intervention.'

But the Imperialists distrusted General Santa Anna as deeply as the Trojans ever distrusted the Greeks; his offers were declined, and he was invited to leave that part of Mexican soil which happened to be in the possession of the Maximilian government as speedily as possible. The emperor went so far as to order the sequestration of Santa Anna's property, which he had for the most part stolen from the people at the time that he ruled as Dictator over them, thus acting both as a traitor and a thief.

Then it was that this truly despicable creature decided to tender his services to the Liberals, completely reversing his loudly-proclaimed and oft-repeated sentiments of loyalty to the emperor, and now crying 'Down with the Monarchy!' 'Long live the Republic!' He sent through

Señor Matias Romero, the Mexican Liberal Minister to the United States, an offer to serve the Republic 'in any capacity.' In a lengthy communication from the Foreign Minister (Señor Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada), dated 6th July 1866, his services are once again incontinently rejected. The fact that the Republic as well as the Monarchy discarded his offers shows conclusively that both parties, as well as all who knew anything of his disreputable career, doubted his good faith and feared his defections. No one could deny that he had afforded abundant cause for such distrust.

When he had been thus repudiated by both sides in the Mexican struggle, Santa Anna, who had conducted his voluminous correspondence from the safe distance of Elizabethport, New Jersey, or New York, in the United States of America, determined to start a revolution of his own, notwithstanding his 'patriotic' sentiments and his love of peace. He was warned by the Mexican Minister at Washington of his peril in so doing, and that in the event of his being arrested he would be treated like a common criminal.

In the month of August 1866 Santa Anna endeavoured to get into correspondence with Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, and addressed to him one of his flowery and sycophantic letters, in which he referred to the democratic American citizen as 'your excellency,' begging for the recognition by the United States of his 'wish to save my country and assist in the expulsion of the last foreign bayonet,' the bayonet which he had been among the very first to summon.

But Santa Anna had little to hope for, and it was but little that he received, from the upright and manly American Secretary of State. To his request that he might be accorded a personal interview, or, at the least that his representative (Mr. J. N. Lake, of New York) might be received by Mr. Seward, the latter, addressing the ex-Dictator of Mexico in the third person, replies, under date the 16th August 1866: 'The distinguished gentleman is hereby informed that insomuch as his attitude towards the Republican government of Mexico, with which the United States maintain diplomatic intercourse, is pronounced by the President of Mexico to be unfriendly towards the government of the Republic, a reception of the general in *any* character at the present time by the Secretary of State would be incompatible with the settled practice and habits of the Executive Department of the United States.'

The unhesitating rejection of Santa Anna by all whom he approached with an offer of his services would have overwhelmed any ordinary individual with humiliation and mortification. Not so this irrepressible person, however, for in the face of these repeated snubs and insults he continued to proffer his duties, and to utter threats when—as invariably proved the case—they were repelled.

On 3rd June General Santa Anna, having induced some credulous and speculative individuals in the United States to advance him the necessary money, landed at Vera Cruz from the U.S. steamer *Virginia*, which also carried a number of American filibusters and quantities of ammunition and munitions of war. He declared that he was proceeding to Mexico 'under the protection of the United States'; this was a gross untruth, by no means an unusual expedient for this unscrupulous agitator to adopt. He was, however, seized by the Mexican authorities, and put back forcibly on board the *Virginia*, after they had assembled in solemn meeting to hear his proposals for another rising.

The American commander, F. A. Roe, was the instrument employed, and he undoubtedly did well to detain the firebrand Santa Anna before he had had the opportunity of committing further mischief. The enraged Mexican stormed and fumed uselessly; the American commander treated him with every consideration, but he would not allow him to again land at Vera Cruz. Santa Anna threatened to report Roe to his government at Washington for the 'outrage' inflicted upon him. The commander merely smiled, raised his cap, and wished his captive 'good evening.' When the United States government finally learned of the incident, it approved *in toto*, as might have been anticipated by all but General Santa Anna, and Commander Roe lost nothing in the estimation of his countrymen by his prompt and vigorous action.

In the Washington House of Representatives, on 8th July 1867, Mr. Fernando Wood, of New York, had introduced a resolution concerning 'the forcible abduction' of Santa Anna, and wishing to know 'whether the law of nations had not been violated'; while Mr. William Mungen, a talkative lawyer from Ohio, brought up another and more lengthy resolution upon the same subject. Little arose out of these discussions, however, and on the whole the press and public of the United States would seem to have approved of the action of the *Virginia's* commander in thus stifling at the outset the further attempt to convulse Mexico in bloody revolution.

The ridiculous 'Free and Sovereign State of Yucatán,' which Santa Anna had conjured up out of his imagination, died before it was born. When later on he landed at Campeche, in the State of Yucatán, he was seized by the Liberal Governor-General Peraza, and held a prisoner at the disposal of the President of the Republic. Again Santa Anna had lied most audaciously, because in a letter which he had sent to a supporter he had declared that he was about to land 'at the invitation of the governor.'

In the month of November another Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, claiming to be the nephew of the general of the same name, endeavoured to 'draw' the U.S. Secretary of State into a correspondence upon the plea that 'his uncle might lose his reputation, his fortune, and even his life in a mistaken enterprise,' and asking if it was true that the U.S. Government was treating with the general upon the subject of Mexico. To this Mr. Seward replied very briefly that 'this government has not recognised any other Mexican authority, or held any correspondence, or entered into any negotiations with any other than that of President Juarez.' Thus the nephew succeeded in obtaining no more than had the uncle from the astute American secretary.

The whole Santa Anna family were regarded—and justly so—as about as delectable and as reputable as a nest of rats.

Santa Anna was now an elderly man, having been born in 1798; but up to the time of his death, in 1874, he continually interfered in Mexican politics, and as continually proved the cause of disturbance. In 1867 he had taken part in the 'pronunciamientos,' for which offence he had been once more exiled, but five years afterwards (1872) he was permitted to return to Mexican soil, for even then he was a dying man.

The reader is referred to the Appendix for further enlightening correspondence upon the character of General Santa Anna. It proves him to have merely changed his political rôle from that of a cruel despot to that of a double-faced and unconscionable traitor.

Napoleon meanwhile was trying to propitiate the Washington Government. He had certainly provoked some act of retaliation upon the part of the Americans, since, in spite of the constant protest of the United States he had recognised the Confederates as a 'naval belligerent,' notwithstanding the fact that they had no established political existence, having no port in that country. It has generally been accepted by nations as a principle that a military force which is destitute of ports or of ships of war cannot by right be considered as a 'naval belligerent.' Napoleon was well aware of this, but it served his purpose to ignore it in relation to the United States.

CHAPTER XII

Maximilian accepts the Crown of Mexico—His conditions—Historic document confirming agreement—Reception of the Mexican deputation—The delegates—Imposing ceremonial—Regents' address read—Maximilian is fascinated—Is proclaimed 'Emperor of Mexico'—Charlotte shares his enthusiasm—They take the oath of allegiance—Francis Joseph visits his brother at Miramar—Maximilian's first decree—Regency dissolved—Special envoys carry intelligence to Foreign Courts—Deputation returns to Mexico City.

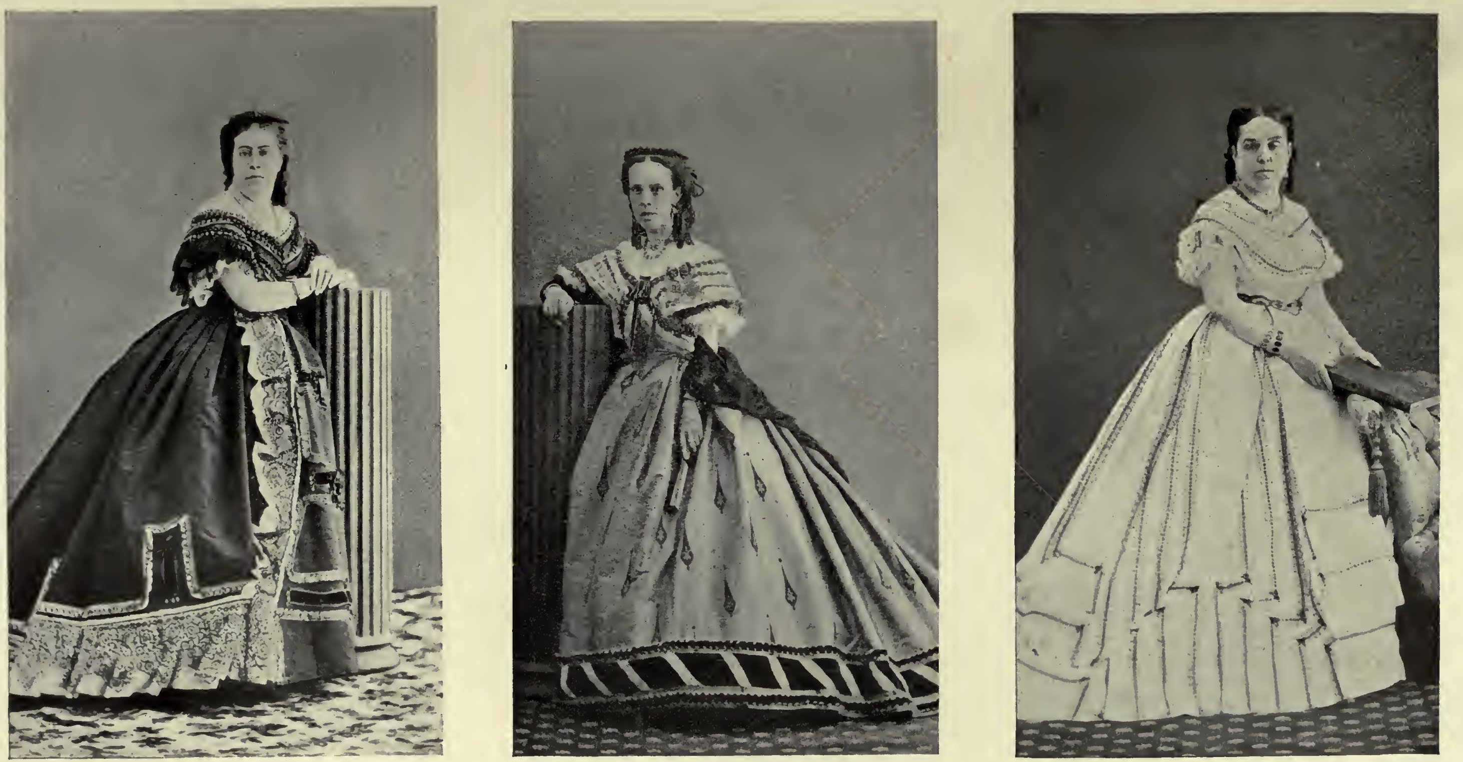
THE proposal put forward by Napoleon to Maximilian that he should accept the crown of Mexico when it was offered had been under consideration for fully eight or nine months before a definite reply in the affirmative was given.

Had the Austrian archduke but consulted his own convenience and feelings in the matter, it is certain that, notwithstanding his long-dreamt-of ambitions to wield full imperial power, he would have declined the proposition; but the plausible argument advanced by Napoleon, the strong personal influence exercised by the Empress Eugénie, for whom Maximilian entertained a profound regard, and the encouraging support lent by the Archduchess Charlotte proved irresistible. The negotiations between Paris and Miramar therefore ended in Maximilian's reluctance being overcome, and in the despatch of a letter, addressed to Señor J. M. Gutierrez de Estrada, the authorised Mexican confidant and intermediary then in Paris, declaring that he would accept the throne of Mexico upon the condition of securing some guarantees, by which he meant that France and England should support him with their moral and material guarantee both upon land and upon sea. The text of the archduke's acceptance was as follows:

'GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply touched by the wishes which were expressed by the assembly of notables at Mexico, at their sitting of the 10th of June, and which you have been charged to bring to me. It can only be flattering to our house that, at the first mention of the word "monarchy" the eyes of your countrymen were at once turned to the race of Charles v. Although the task of assuring the independence and well-being of Mexico, by means of durable and free institutions, is a very noble one, still I must acknowledge in full understanding with his Majesty the Emperor of the French, whose glorious initiative makes the regeneration of your beautiful country possible, that the monarchy cannot be restored, on legitimate and lasting foundations, unless the whole nation, of its own free will, ratifies the wish of the capital. Therefore, I must make my acceptance of the throne which is offered to me depend, first, on a result of a vote of the entire country. On the other hand my comprehension of the sacred duties of the ruler over the restored empire makes it necessary for me to ask for some guarantees which are indispensable to protect it from the dangers which threaten its integrity and independence. Should the assurances of a well-grounded security in the future be obtained, and should the universal choice of the noble people of Mexico fall upon me, I shall be ready to accept the throne supported by the acquiescence of the high chief of my family, and confiding in the protection of the Almighty. In case that I should be called by Providence to the high mission of civilisation connected with this crown, I must, gentlemen, declare to you, even now, my firm determination, following the wise example of my imperial brother, to open to the country the path of progress founded on law and order, by means of a constitutional government, and as soon as the whole realm has been restored to peace, to seal the fundamental fact with the nation by my oath. Only in this way could a new and truly national policy be called into life, in which all parties, forgetting their ancient enmities, would help to raise Mexico to that conspicuous rank among the nations to which she would seem to be destined under a government which held as its highest principle to let moderation and law govern.

'Gentlemen, will you communicate to your countrymen these resolutions, which I have freely imparted to you, and strive that it may be made possible to the nation to declare what government it wishes to see established?'

This document of tentative acceptance, occupying two



SEÑORA MARIA BARRÍO DE CAMPÉRO SEÑORA ROCHA DE ROBLÈS SEÑORA DOLORES DE ELGUERRO

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

sides of a large sheet of manuscript paper, and couched in the Spanish language, was forwarded by the recipient, Señor Gutierrez de Estrada, to Don Licenciado[1] Aguilar, who, upon his part, communicated its contents to the Imperialist party in Mexico. The principal members of a European Commission — which included Señor Hidalgo, General Almonte, and General Miramón—with Señor Gutierrez de Estrada came later to Paris, while the Archbishop of Mexico, Monsignor Labastida, also came over to use his influence at Rome against the Liberal Government, of which Benito Juarez was the chief, and in favour of the establishment of a monarchy with a Catholic prince at the head.

The members of the deputation from Mexico were entertained with becoming liberality and magnificence by the hospitable Maximilian, who accommodated them at Miramar during the few days that they remained in Austria. They were as deeply impressed by the lavish welcome extended to them as by the outward beauty of the palace wherein their chosen prince habitually resided. Accustomed as they were to attractive scenic surroundings, for Mexico is a remarkably captivating country, the fairness of the Miramar estate, situated upon the deep blue waters of the Adriatic, its innumerable lofty trees and glowing flower-gardens, and, above all, the stately residence with its castellated towers and sweeping marble terraces, elicited their profound admiration.

The formal reception of the delegates who brought with them the offer of the imperial crown of Mexico took place on a Sunday. It had been so arranged that the fullest number of people might be present, numerous distinguished individuals coming from the city of Trieste for the occasion. The Marquis Corio, grand master of ceremonies to the Archduke Maximilian, received the members of the deputation at the principal door of the palace, where they had assembled, and conducted them to the imperial audience chamber, a large and handsome hall where dances and concerts were usually held. To reach this it was necessary

[1] Licenciado means barrister, licentiate, or doctor-in-law.

to pass through a long suite of apartments comprising the dining-room, ante-room, and library. In the ball-room Maximilian and Charlotte took up their positions upon a dais erected at the head of the salon, beneath a magnificent canopy of rose-silk, embroidered in gold. Two chairs of state, highly gilded and upholstered in crimson silk, occupied this space, and seated thereon were the archduke and archduchess, handsomely dressed, awaiting their visitors. Maximilian had assumed the becoming uniform of an Austrian vice-admiral, and wore the orders of the Golden Fleece and Grand Cross of San Stephen. The archduchess wore a superb robe of crimson silk, trimmed with quantities of Brussels lace (an inheritance from her mother, the late Queen Louise of Belgium), an archducal crown, collar and ornaments composed of diamonds, and the Black Ribbon of the Order of Malta. The scene, when all the gaily-attired company had assembled and the handsome hall was full, was described by a contemporary Mexican scribe as 'one of the most impressive and solemnly effective that had ever been witnessed.'

How could Maximilian know of the successful conspiracy which had been organised in distant Mexico by Marshal Forey, Napoleon's emissary, in order to obtain the adhesion of certain notabilities who should offer him, upon the part of the imperialists, the throne of Mexico? How should he have divined that the so-called 'spontaneous call' was merely the obedient act of a number of lesser lights in the political world who had no authority beyond their own to proclaim an empire? The act of the Junta which took upon itself that responsibility has been denounced by historians, such as the Count E. de Kératry, as 'a deplorable example of an outrage against the truth.' This same critic, himself a Frenchman, has also written: 'We have had to pay for the apparel of some of the "notables," just as one had to pay for the flowers which were thrown under the feet of the French troops upon their entry into Mexico City (July 1863).'

Standing where he did in the full flush of his life's ambition, with the Mexican delegation bowing low before him, Maximilian could not possibly imagine that he was being cruelly misled, nor, indeed, did those well-meaning and doubtless honest-minded gentlemen who formed the deputation, and who so disinterestedly proffered him the crown, believe for a moment that they were exceeding their privileges. They had the encouragement of the French military occupants of Mexico, and that was deemed by them to be adequate. They had, however, considered it unnecessary to conduct any preliminary canvass of public opinion in Mexico, nor had they concerned themselves at all with the feelings of their numerous political opponents. Nevertheless, the summoning of the Junta by Marshal Forey, of which body they themselves had formed members, proved so glaringly unconstitutional that it might have occurred to their minds, had they thought about the matter at all, that the deliberations and conclusions of such a body could not possibly prove binding upon the rest of the nation. To Maximilian they explained that they were acting for 'the great majority of the Mexican people'; as a fact—although the archduke could neither know nor guess it—they did not in this matter speak for one tenth of the people. The recent events before the walls of Puebla should alone have convinced them and their dupe of this. *Fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt.*

Immediately behind the archduke stood General Frossart, aide-de-camp to the French emperor, and the Special French Envoy, M. Herbet, both of whom had been sent by Napoleon to lend additional *éclat* to the proceedings. The archduchess's ladies-in-waiting, who occupied places immediately behind her chair, included the Princess Metternich, the Marquise de Ville, the two Countesses Zichy (sisters), the Countess Paula Kollonitz (who subsequently accompanied Charlotte to Mexico), the Minister of Belgium to Austria, M. Monier, the captain of the imperial frigate *Themis*, and other important personages.

Having approached to the foot of the dais and formed themselves into a semi-circle, Señor José M. Gutierrez de Estrada read the address from the Regents of Mexico, in which they presented the resolution arrived at regarding the establishment of a monarchy in place of a republic, and described, in the picturesque language of Spain, the yearning of the people for a peaceful and progressive government, and 'for a high-minded and noble prince to rule over them.' As he listened, fascinated and enraptured, to the eloquent phrases contained in the lengthy address, Maximilian was realising the dream of years, and achieving at length the ambition which had so often dazzlingly presented itself as within his destined attainment. No shadow of doubt entered his mind that the tender of the imperial diadem of Mexico could be anything but the unanimous proffering of the entire Mexican people; no suggestion of any divergence of opinion could be gleaned from the flowery and flattering appeal presented to the Austrian archduke, nor from the several rhetorical speeches delivered by the individual members of the deputation after the reading of the address. Among the speakers were one or two notable Mexican orators, such as the distinguished lawyer Don Pablo Martinez del Rio and Don Francisco de P. Arrangoiz y Berzabal.

The archduke, much moved by the evident sincerity of his petitioners no less than by the solemnity of the occasion, signifying for him and for his young wife, who stood radiantly beside him, so heavy a responsibility and so complete a change in their hitherto careless and happy lives, returned a favourable answer; whereupon Señor José M. Gutierrez de Estrada, approaching the feet of the archduke, knelt before him and did homage to his new sovereign. Taking the prince's hand within his own, the president of the deputation solemnly proclaimed him 'Emperor of Mexico,' exclaiming aloud after the Spanish custom:

'Dios salve á S.M. Maximiliano I° Emperador de Mejico!' after which every Mexican in the room repeated: 'God bless His Majesty Maximilian the First, Emperor of Mexico.'

The same ceremonial was carried out in respect to Charlotte, who was proclaimed 'Empress' amid demonstrations of unparalleled enthusiasm. This was the day of her life, and very beautiful she looked as she bowed her grateful acknowledgments of the altogether momentous and impressive manifestation.

The venerable Abbot of Lacroma, wearing his mitre and carrying his crosier, attended by Father Tomás Gomez, of the Spanish Order of San Francisco, and by Dr. Ignacio Montesdeoca, a Mexican priest, then administered the oath of allegiance to Maximilian and Charlotte, both of them swearing to adhere to the laws of the country, to faithfully observe and administer its ordinances, and at all times to rule according to the Church's precepts, concluding by placing their hands reverently upon the Book of the Gospels which was presented to them by Dr. Montesdeoca.

Formed into a procession, the entire company now proceeded to the private chapel of the castle, where a solemn *Te Deum* was sung, following which some further introductions to their new emperor and empress were made of Mexican notabilities, including Señor Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, Minister of State, General Woll, aide-de-camp, and Señor Angel Iglésias, the new Secretary of the Cabinet.

The day previous to these ceremonies had witnessed the arrival at Miramar of the Emperor Francis Joseph and two of his brothers—the Archdukes Charles Louis and Louis Victor—who came to congratulate Maximilian upon his new honours. They remained but a few hours and then returned to Vienna; but it was noticed that the parting between the two emperors was so affectionate that it might have been imagined a final separation was being gone through. As a matter of fact this proved to be the case, for Maximilian left Miramar a few days later for Mexico, and the two brothers never met again,

Upon the same day that he formally accepted the crown of Mexico, Maximilian issued his first decree as elected sovereign. This was dissolving the regency which, hitherto, had carried on the government of the country, and nominating the General Juán N. Almonte as the emperor's representative charged with full plenary powers. Señor Joaquin

Velasquez de Leon was, at the same time, confirmed in his appointment as Minister of State.

This occasion was distinguished likewise by the ceremonious signing of the 'Convention of Miramar,' made between the Emperor of the French and the new Emperor of Mexico, the signatures being respectively those of M. Herbet for the former and Don Joaquin Velasquez de Leon for the latter. The Convention, consisting of eighteen Articles, and which forms the subject of innumerable references and of much correspondence dealt with in subsequent pages of this volume, will be found reproduced in the Appendix *in extenso.*

Special envoys conveying the tidings of Maximilian's acceptance of the crown were despatched to the courts of Paris, Vienna, Rome, Brussels, London, and Madrid. Having confirmed and extended the provisions of the Order of the Guadaloupe, first created at the time of the Regency, in October of 1863, the emperor conferred the decoration upon a number of those who had assisted at the ceremonies of Miramar.

The deputation, which had performed its allotted commission under conditions of the greatest splendour and in a manner which afforded general satisfaction, now withdrew and shortly afterwards returned to Mexico, there to supervise the arrangements for the important ceremonies and public rejoicings which it was decided should mark the arrival of the new sovereigns within their dominions, and their actual coronation in the cathedral of their capital city. Maximilian and Charlotte, in taking temporary farewell of their new subjects, promised that they would follow them to Mexico with all possible expedition. In little less than one month from that date they had embarked upon the voyage which was destined to end for them with such tragic consequences.

CHAPTER XIII

The journey to Mexico—Departure from Miramar—Affecting leave-taking—Visit to Royal Family at Naples—Reception by the Pope—Call at Gibraltar—Reception by General Codrington—Stay at Jamaica—First impressions of Mexico—Cool reception—Almonte's initial blunder—Journey to Orizaba, Cordoba, and Mexico City—Enthusiasm in the Capital—Visit to the Cathedral—Generals Bazaine and Negrete take part—Colonel Miguel Lopez presents himself—Visit to the provinces—Triumphal progress—Return to the Capital.

The 14th day of April 1864 was a glorious one climatically. The sun shone forth with all the accustomed splendour and genial warmth of the favoured Adriatic shores, and never had Miramar, with its stately castellated walls, its broad turreted towers, and its many windows, presented a more attractive aspect. The sun glanced upon its sweeping terraces, its superb gardens, and its numerous lofty trees; the brilliance of the semi-tropical flowers and shrubs in their well-ordered beds was only equalled by the exquisite tint of the blue waters of the Adriatic which washed and lapped the marble steps which led down to them. Maximilian had built Miramar upon the bare rough crags, and had surrounded it with the fairest gardens that man could design. No one who saw Miramar upon a day such as this could fail to be moved by its appealing splendour, its utter restfulness, and its complete isolation from a noisy and troubled world.

Such were Maximilian's feelings, when, for the last time, he wandered through the familiar rooms and passages; glanced longingly at his particular retiring-room where, smoking his favourite tobacco, he had dreamed of imperial magnificence—yet furtively hoping that it might not be realised; visited once again the well-known shady walks in the beautiful grounds, and lingered lovingly over certain flower-beds, and beneath the shade of the noble trees. All these he was to leave, and he felt the parting intensely, as a nature as sensitive as his was bound to do.

This 14th day of April, so momentous for Maximilian of Austria, had already passed into the calendar as a day to be remembered. Upon this same date Philip, grandson of Louis XIV., called to the throne of Spain by the will of the preceding monarch Charles I., made his entry into Madrid in 1701. Between Philip and Maximilian there was this point of resemblance—both were good-hearted, honest, and humane in their dealings. Whereas the first-named voluntarily resigned the crown which had brought him nothing but melancholy and mortification, the latter was only relieved of the weight of his by death.

The deep affection in which Maximilian and Charlotte were held at Miramar was only equalled by the love which existed between them during the nine years of companionship which were vouchsafed to them. They were known to every man, woman, and child in the district, while their benefactions were as liberal as they were indiscriminate. Although generally abstaining from active politics, Maximilian had, upon occasions, stood between the Crown and the people during the period of transition from absolutism to constitutionalism. The fact that he stood so near the Throne, while acting as the cause of his cold reception at court, endeared him to the people who longed for the time when he might become their sovereign. Had the Emperor Francis Joseph listened to Maximilian's proposals regarding reform in Lombardy and Venetia, these provinces might never have been lost to Austria. But just as Vienna had regarded with suspicion the advice of the Archduke Reiner, who during the second quarter of the last century was Governor of Milan and viceroy of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, so had it mistrusted the influence of Maximilian when occupying a similar official position, blind to the need of a just and liberal policy towards the Italian provinces of

SEÑORA DOLORES PEÑA DEL HIDALGO Y TERÁN

SEÑORA DOLORES QUESADA D'ALMONTE

SEÑORA DE ESTRADA

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

Austria then as it is to the Serbo-Croatian provinces to-day. Just as the Archduke Reiner had had to leave his post in 1848, so was Maximilian compelled to depart and abandon the civilising and pacifying work which he had but barely commenced in 1859.

Shortly before their departure Maximilian and Charlotte received a deputation from the town of Trieste, whose members came to bid them god-speed. The meeting—as did the parting—proved very touching, and both Maximilian and his loyal adherents were much moved. The love which existed between the handsome young archduke and the good people of Trieste was undoubtedly profound, and when the Burgomaster presented the memorial which bore the signatures of some ten thousand of the inhabitants, Maximilian burst into tears. Flowers were strewn at his feet, and with true peasant enthusiasm many threw themselves before the young emperor, imploring him to remain among them. 'He beckoned his thanks and regrets with streaming eyes and convulsively heaving bosom, but no word could pass his lips,' we are told by one who was among his *entourage*.

The crowd accompanied the imperial pair to the embarkation steps; their moist eyes followed them anxiously on their journey in a small boat which was to convey them to the government corvette, the *Novara*, awaiting to bear them to their new possessions. The Austrian frigate *Bellona* and the French frigate *Themis* thundered forth their salutes, the forts at Trieste took up the parable noisily, and the *Novarra* steamed away slowly towards the distant shores of the new empire.

The journey was broken first at Civita Vecchia, which was headed on 19th April, and from this port a short visit was paid to the Italian royal family at Naples, while a second was paid to Rome. Every honour was conferred upon the imperial travellers, who were received with the full state and ceremony rendered to reigning sovereigns; the Pope (Pius Ninth) had previously received the emperor and empress with the greatest readiness, and afterwards returned the visit in person, calling upon them in full state at the Palazzo Marescotti where they were lodged.

The next stop was at Gibraltar, where the sovereigns were received by the governor, General Codrington. Two days passed in a series of entertainments and amusements designed by the governor and his daughter, during which both Maximilian and Charlotte appeared to be as joyous as two children. In after years Miss Codrington frequently referred to the lightheartedness and spontaneous merriment of this young and happy couple.

While most of the suite apparently suffered intensely on the voyage from seasickness, neither Maximilian nor Charlotte seemed much inconvenienced. Both had travelled in earlier days, the archduke having passed several years voyaging around the world, while together or alone they had visited Madeira and the other Canary Islands upon three separate occasions; Charlotte had lived upon the island for several months. Maximilian's sister-in-law, the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, had at this time a small villa at Madeira located on the water's edge, amd completely surrounded by superb gardens.

In a sixteen days' voyage the imperial travellers had landed three times—at Civita Vecchia, at Gibraltar, and at Madeira, but between this island and the port of Vera Cruz (Mexico) there were to be but two more land expeditions. Madeira was left behind on 30th April, and on 9th May the island of Martinique was reached and quitted on the following day. Jamaica was made on 12th, and here every attention was shown to the imperial visitors by the Admiral of the North-American station fleet, Sir James Hope. At Port Royal the military governor, General Ashmore, and the Civil Governor, Mr. Edward John Eyre (of the 'Gordon Riots' fame), devoted many hours to showing Maximilian and Charlotte the curiosities of the place, a kindness which was much appreciated by the recipients.

On the 25th May the shores of Mexico drew near, the *Novarra* sailing into the Gulf of Mexico between the peninsula of Yucatán (a name afterwards to be bitterly remembered by Maximilian) and Cape San Antonio, on the island of Cuba. It was now over forty days since the voyage commenced, and all the travellers alike were glad enough that its end was near. Three days later, 28th May, Vera Cruz was reached, and the imperial vessel cast anchor at two o'clock in the afternoon.

First impressions of their new empire proved hardly encouraging. At the best of times Vera Cruz is a dismal and unattractive place. In fine weather the heat is intense, and the air miasmac. Even to-day, when so much has been effected to purify the town and to purge the surroundings from their foul conditions, the odours are sickening. The long rows of flat-roofed, stucco-faced houses of the town, the painfully straight streets all of one uniform pattern set in a framework of yellow sandy waste, relieved here and there by groups of wind-tossed cocoanut palms, strike a kind of terror to new arrivals.

For many—nay, for most—days of the year, moreover, a violent and most irritating hot wind, known as the 'Norther,' blows continuously, sometimes for four or five days, and seldom for less than two, without an hour's cessation. It was upon such a day that the imperial pair first saw the town, and to make matters more unpleasant the arrival of the *Novara* seemed to have met with absolute indifference upon the part of the town authorities. Although the *Themis* had preceded the imperial vessel by some hours in order to announce the sovereigns' arrival, not a sign of any public or private reception was manifested. This was subsequently explained by the fact that General Almonte, who had been deputed to receive the emperor and empress, was still up-country (at Orizaba), whither he had proceeded to escape from the yellow fever raging at Vera Cruz.

Several hours after the *Novara* had cast anchor, and as the emperor and empress were wondering what could be the meaning of this cold and unfriendly reception, Rear-Admiral Bosse, accompanied by an aide-de-camp, both of whom were in a very bad temper, rowed out to the imperial vessel.

Later on in the day General Almonte himself appeared, accompanied by General Salas and many of the notables of Vera Cruz. The town by their instructions was illuminated at dusk. At 5 A.M. on the following morning, 29th May, Maximilian and Charlotte disembarked, and shortly afterwards set foot for the first time upon Mexican soil.

The public demonstration which had been confidently expected proved of a very disappointing character. The imperial procession—the first for over forty years—composed of the distinguished travellers, their European suite, and the French and Mexican military escort, proceeded slowly and silently through the streets without exciting the slightest enthusiasm among the stolid, staring inhabitants, who nevertheless, in later days, proved their loyalty to the empire when the whole of the rest of the country had practically abandoned it.

The newly-built railroad—known then as it is to-day as the 'Mexican Railway'—carried the court as far as Tomalto, with a few hours' stoppage for breakfast at La Soledad, after which the journey was continued by carriage to the town of Cordoba. It had been intended to proceed as far as Orizaba, but, owing to delays upon the road, this was found to be impossible. As it happened, Cordoba itself was only attained a little before midnight; Orizaba was reached at 10 A.M. on the following day. Then, after many unpleasant incidents upon the way, Puebla was reached, and on 7th June the cortège arrived at Santa Maria de Guadaloupe, a small town situated on the outskirts of Mexico City. From here it was intended to make the royal entry into the capital, and this took place some five days later.

The inhabitants had been well prepared for the event, and they had not failed to show their interest; triumphal arches and well-decorated house fronts, many garlands of natural flowers and numerous coloured draperies floating from the windows, testified to the good feeling aroused, and the emperor and empress now tasted of that display and popular enthusiasm which had hitherto been so lamentably lacking. The imperial carriage used upon this occasion was one which Maximilian had had expressly made for this service by an English firm ; how well it was constructed was proved by the manner with which it stood the journey over the shockingly bad roads which had to be traversed between Vera Cruz, where the conveyance had been landed, and Mexico City. Maximilian and Charlotte had occupied it all the way from La Soledad. The ponderous vehicle, which is heavily and even garishly ornamented with brass mouldings, now reposes among other imperial relics in the National Museum at Mexico City.

At the church of San Guadaloupe, where they had heard early mass on the morning of 11th of June, the emperor and empress were met by an escort of mounted men and ladies in carriages, who had come from Mexico City to conduct the two sovereigns into their capital. The entire route of between seven and eight miles was lined by cheering crowds, which became more and more dense as the city's precincts were reached, those most distant falling-in behind the procession, and thus helping to swell the moving throng.

In the city itself the people had left nothing undone that could lend additional importance to the occasion ; the streets through which the cavalcade had to pass were spanned by arches of exquisite flowers, while quantities of blooms culled that morning from suburban gardens were flung beneath the horses' feet and around the royal carriage as it made its way slowly through the congested thoroughfares. Loud shouts of welcome greeted the smiling emperor and his radiant wife as they came into view, and no royal progress could have been more gratifying than theirs upon this memorable occasion.

The procession stopped at the cathedral gates, where the imperial pair and their suite alighted to attend a solemn *Te deum,* sung before the cavalcade again moved on to the imperial palace, which Maximilian and Charlotte now beheld for the first time. Here was held a reception of the notabilities and many of the French officers, the ceremony lasting for several hours.

The evening and a portion of the night were devoted to feasting and merrymaking. At the state banquet which was held at the palace as well as at a large number of private dinner-parties given for the occasion, the toast to the health of the emperor and empress was received with considerable enthusiasm. Speeches breathing fervid loyalty and devotion were delivered and were as generously replied to; while at the close of this memorable day there was witnessed as brilliant a display of pyrotechnics as ever had rejoiced the hearts of these readily-amused and good-natured people.

General Bazaine and General Baron Neigre had both been present in the street procession, and now performed the pleasant duty of presenting their officers to the new sovereigns. The ceremony at last completed, Maximilian and Charlotte showed themselves from the balcony of the palace to the assembled multitude, by whom they were received with every demonstration of delight and fervid loyalty.

For many years these people had been accustomed to see and to listen to black-coated, loud-voiced, and wildly-gesticulating Mexican orators and politicians, who, occupying the same balcony, had shrieked to them of 'honour and patriotism,' denouncing in terms of hatred and recrimination their political enemies and rival candidates for office. To-day, however, they were gazing spellbound at a pair of physically attractive and handsomely apparelled beings of royal birth, who seemed to visualise the longed-for and firmly believed-in Aztec deities, Quetzalcoatl and his wife, who had been banished from the land thousands of years before. It seemed all quite natural to the Indian mind, this big blonde man, with light blue eyes and yellow flowing hair, attired in brilliant uniform, and, close by his side, this exceedingly beautiful young woman apparelled in magnificent robes of scarlet velvet, of gracious mien and bewitching smile. Undoubtedly they were Quetzalcoatl and his wife, reincarnated, and it would have gone hard with any one in the crowd who had ventured to declare the contrary.

At the head of the military escort had ridden Colonel

Miguel Lopez, the same individual who a few years later was destined to cover his name with everlasting infamy, and earn the honest loathing of his fellow creatures. To-day he had looked handsome and debonair, as he managed, with perfect grace, his mettlesome charger, and led his lancers in a half-trot upon either side of the gorgeous imperial carriage. This regiment had met the illustrious travellers half-way upon the Vera Cruz road, and escorted them to the village of Guadaloupe.

The triumphal entry into Mexico City was shortly afterwards followed by Maximilian's almost equally imposing reception at Jalapa, the ancient capital of the State of Vera Cruz, and a place of considerable importance even in the days of Cortés. The welcome which this town—typical 'Old Mexico'—had prepared for the young sovereign was particularly hearty, and he was as much pleased with the evident sincerity of the people as he was enchanted by the exquisite scenery amid which the town of Jalapa nestles. Several days were passed here, receptions, entertainments, and public processions occupying every available hour. The illuminations at night vied with those of the capital city itself for magnificence and beauty. The only unpleasant incident to occur was an accident to the emperor's private secretary, Señor Montalba Poliakovitz, who, during the day, had been thrown from his horse and hurt, his arm being fractured in the fall.

Undoubtedly the friendly reception accorded the new arrivals at Mexico City greatly pleased and encouraged them, and atoned for the frigid ceremonies at Vera Cruz; the almost childish pleasure which showed itself upon the beautiful face of Charlotte, and the proud look of happiness upon that of her handsome consort, attracted general attention. Thus auspiciously, to them at least, commenced their entry into the possession of their new kingdom. No cloud appeared at this time to be looming anywhere near the horizon.

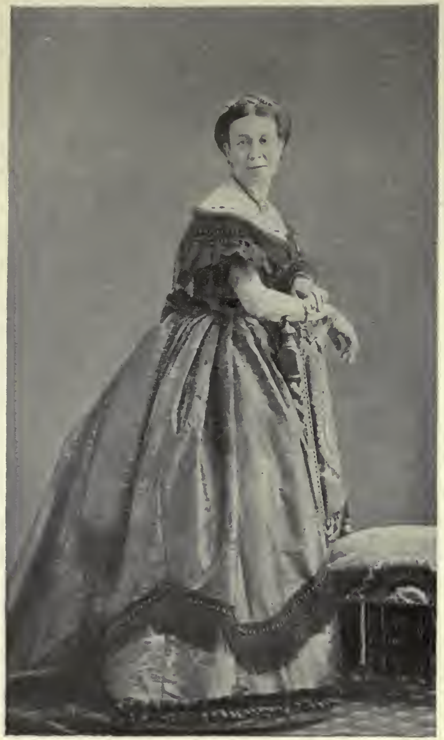
From Jalapa Maximilian and Charlotte, who had joined him there on the last day of his stay, her Majesty having been detained in Mexico City in consequence of a slight indisposition, proceeded to Puebla, the city which had been captured in 1821 by Iturbide, the first emperor of Mexico; occupied by the North Americans under General Winfield Scott in 1847; successfully defended, after a severe struggle, by Zaragoza in May of 1862; and conquered for Maximilian by the French, after one of the most desperate battles which have been fought in Latin-Amercia, in May of 1863. Once again it was destined to stand a siege, for in the month of April 1867 it fell to the prowess of General Porfirio Diaz, who, upon a former occasion, had been confined as a prisoner within its fortified walls.

One of the first acts performed by Maximilian upon entering Puebla was to order the release of all the prisoners there incarcerated, including even a round half dozen ruffians who were under sentence of death for murder. According to the terms of Clause 17 of the Convention of Miramar, it was agreed that the French government should set at liberty all Mexicans in prison on the day that the emperor entered into his kingdom.

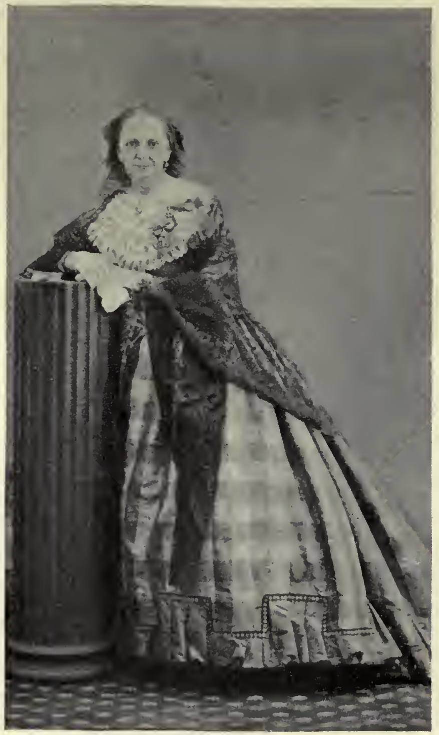
Yet another act of grace, which elicited as great if not greater public satisfaction, was the ceremonious conferring of the much-prized Grand Cross of the Order of Notre Dame de Guadaloupe upon Sister Louisa, of the Order of Carmelites, and one of the noblest and most-beloved of women.

In Puebla also Maximilian met for the first time the French Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary M. Alphonse Dano, who was later on destined to play an important part in the emperor's life in Mexico. He had but recently arrived to replace the Marquis de Monthalon, who, on his part, had succeeded the unfortunate M. de Saligny, who had been recalled to France. The new minister was charged by Napoleon to express his cordial good wishes towards the Mexican sovereigns, and, in order to do honour to the occasion, their majesties accorded the plenipotentiary the fullest measure of diplomatic honours.

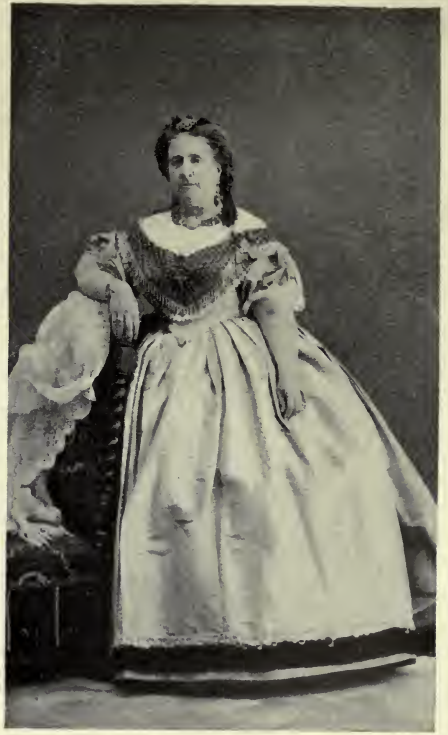
Before leaving the city of Puebla Maximilian held a grand review of the Austrian troops who had accompanied



SEÑORA RAFAELA MUÑOZ DE PERAZ



SEÑORA JOSEFA DE SALAS



SEÑORA ROSA OBREGON DE URAZA

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

him from Europe, under the command of General Count de Thün and Lieutenant-Colonel Kodolich. The latter proved himself a devoted adherent of the emperor throughout his brief three years' reign, and more particularly during the times of trouble which followed. Resourceful as he was reliable, Kodolich's services stand out in bold contrast to the pusillanimous conduct of most of the other Austrian officers and men who had accepted service under Maximilian. Nearly all of them in the end deserted him, while in his last sad hours the part played by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago, will never be forgotten, nor can it ever be explained.

From his triumphal progress through a portion of the friendly provincial towns, Maximilian, accompanied by Charlotte, returned to the capital to commence the serious part of his imperial duties.

CHAPTER XIV

Maximilian's Court—The Imperial Palace—Noble orders established—Court ceremonies and functions—Dinner invitations—The Imperial household—Banquet to Marshal Bazaine—The ordinary palace-dinner—Empress Charlotte as hostess—Bazaine's difficult position—Maximilian and Charlotte in retirement—The empress's court—Her wardrobe—European costumes introduced—Charlotte's charities and occupations—Liberal party opposition—Empress in charge of state affairs—Imperial visit to Yucatán.

The Imperial Palace (now known as the National Palace, one of the edifices which were considerably damaged by the artillery fire of General Diaz in the revolution of February 1913) is an enormous block of white stucco buildings, the whole of the south and west sides of which in 1864 consisted of the imperial apartments, the north and east portions being used as public offices; the museum and national picture gallery then, as in later days, were located in the north wing. Maximilian expended a considerable sum of money upon endeavouring to improve the naturally plain exterior of the building, and he added an interior court, surrounded by a handsome corridor, while he constructed a new and imposing staircase leading to his own and the empress's private apartments. The emperor built a magnificent banqueting-hall and a ball-room; but while he superintended their beginning he was destined neither to see their completion nor to utilise them.

At the head of the grand staircase of the palace upon state occasions were found the sentinels of the 'Guardia Palatina,' a magnificently disciplined and uniformed body of picked men, a hundred strong, not one among whom was under six feet in height. To them was committed the personal care of the imperial family. They formed the 'Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms,' and were commanded by Colonel Count Bombelles, a captain, and two lieutenants, who had respectively the ranks in the Mexican army of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and 'commandantes' (majors); they deemed it a great favour to serve their majesties in this capacity.

In January of 1865 Maximilian established the Order of the Mexican Eagle, the highest of all ranks, and having for its chief the Grand Master, the reigning sovereign. The symbol adopted was the spread eagle holding in its beak a serpent—typical of discord and evil—and bearing above its head the imperial diadem, together with the transverse swords of equality and justice. The blue silk ribbon bore the inscription: 'Equidad en la Justicia' (Equality of Justice). Of this order there were six classes—knights, officers, commanders, grand officers, grand cross, and grand cross with collar. The insignia were composed of various precious metals, the number of recipients being limited in all but those of the first class. Thus there were to be but two hundred officers, one hundred commanders, fifty grand officers, twenty-five grand cross, and twelve grand cross with collar. Although this latter decoration was intended primarily for foreign crowned heads, Maximilian, in his proclamation of 1st January 1865, reserved several of the decorations for Mexicans who displayed 'special civic and distinguished services,' or who had in any way contributed *de una manera señalada â la prosperidad y â la gloria del païs.*

In the following April the emperor instituted the Order of Guadaloupe of which he also assumed the head. Of this class there were five grades, knights (unlimited in number), officers (500), commanders (200), grand officers (100), and grand cross (30). No foreigners were admitted to this last order.

A third order, instituted by the emperor upon behalf of the empress, was for ladies, and known as the Order of San Carlos (San Carlos Borromeo), and of which the empress was the supreme head. Great discretion was used at first in admitting members, but as later on the spirit of jealousy was aroused among the large number of Mexican ladies who were necessarily excluded, Charlotte broke away from her strict rules and bestowed the order more freely. It was only a few weeks before his death that Maximilian made the wife of Prince Felix zu Salm Salm a 'lady of the order.'

The San Carlos Order consisted of two classes—the grand cross and the small cross. Of the former the members were limited to twenty-four; of the latter the recipients were unlimited. Except in special cases this order was conferred upon two annual occasions only—4th November, the day of the Patron Saint, and 7th June, the birthday of the empress.

There was also established the Order of Merit, which had been first created in October 1863, the members of which were composed of officers in both branches of his Majesty's service, and who were awarded distinctive medals in three classes, the medals being composed of either gold, silver, or bronze.

In 1841, under the presidency of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, there had been instituted the Order of the Cross of Constancy (La Cruz de Constancia), and this Maximilian confirmed and approved by special decree of 10th April 1865. He, however, introduced two modifications—one being that the order should not consist of more than two classes, and the other that no one should receive the first-class unless he could show at least fifty years of service, nor the second class under twenty-five years' service.

Upon the occasions of state dinners at the palace, the guests were assembled in the fine suite of drawing-rooms which stretched the whole width of the building, consisting of at least five rooms, communicating by means of folding doors. Costly silks and satins had been imported from Europe wherewith to decorate the walls and drape the windows, while the chairs and carpets, which had been sent out from France, were of the very latest design and luxurious manufacture. The guests usually included some members of the ministry, heads of the military departments, and a generous sprinkling of French and Mexican officers, accompanied by their ladies. The number of equerries, chamberlains, aides, and secretaries swelled the party to considerable proportions. Upon most nights the assembled company exceeded forty.

The ordinary invitations to dine with their majesties were neatly engraved upon stiff cards, measuring 6×4¼ inches, and bore the following:

De Orden del Emperador, la Secrétaria de las
Ceremonias tiene la honra de invitar á
Señor..
....
á comer con Su Majestad en el Palacio Imperial
de Mexico, el.......................................*de* 186.. *á*
las.......................................*de la tarde.*
Traje:
Para los Señores de mañana
Para las Señoras................

When all were gathered the folding doors of the last room were thrown open; then the imperial host and hostess, preceded by two chamberlains and accompanied by their chaplain (Father Fischer), entered the sâlon arm-in-arm. A tour was made through the lane of guests, and all were bid welcome with that charm of manner so characteristic of Maximilian and his wife, both of whom displayed the most complete *savoir-faire* and royal grace of demeanour. With the emperor and empress at the head the company then passed through the suite of rooms to the banqueting-hall, which was situated upon the same floor. The emperor, having ceremoniously conducted Charlotte to her place at the centre of the large oblong table, took his seat immediately opposite. A card bearing the imperial cipher in gold, with the name of each guest printed thereon, was on the plate placed for him or her; after the formality of a short grace and the pious act of 'crossing' by each guest, the feast was served.

For the first year of court life, the outlay upon maintaining the imperial household was unrestricted. It was only with the difficulties which eventually ensued, regarding the foreign payments into the exchequer, that the high ceremonial and elaborate service fell away. Neither Maximilian nor Charlotte had ever had to consider the question of expense in connection with their household management, and consequently *carte blanche* was permitted in the arrangements. At the state banquets there were usually between fifteen and twenty different varieties of wines and liqueurs served, varying from the light vintages of the Rhine and the Rhone to the more costly seals of Prince Metternich, Veuve Cliquot and Röderer. The emperor had likewise brought out with him among his *impedimenta* a large collection of the finest Hungarian wines, both white and red, while, being a great connoisseur of liqueurs, he had furnished his cellars with some of the finest and most expensive brands that the world could supply.

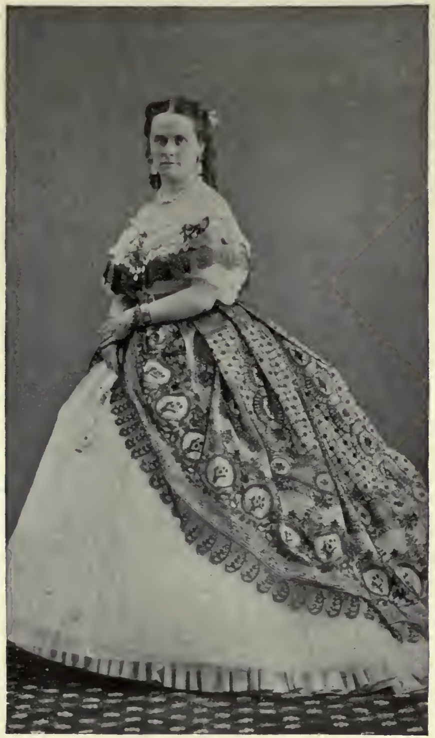
Concerts were held during the course of most of the State entertainments, and the subjoined programme shows the catholicity of taste possessed by the emperor and empress in musical selections.

PROGRAMA

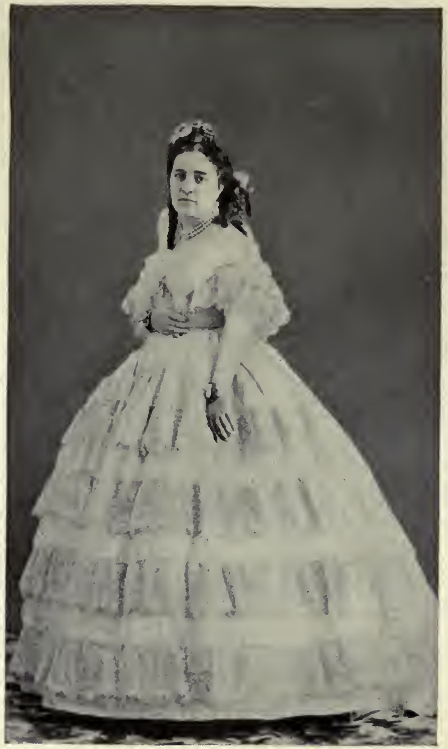
DEL DIA 27 DE ABRIL DE 1865

N. 1.	Marcha, por	*Sauerthal.*
N. 2.	Orpheus (Abertura), por	*Offenbach.*
N. 3.	Cellonen (Valso), por	*Strauss.*
N. 4.	Un ballo di maschera (Cuadrilla), por	*Verdi.*
N. 5.	Waldröslein (Mazurka), por	*Fahrbach.*
N. 6.	La Zingara (Divertissement), por	*Balfe.*
N. 7.	La Campana (Habanera), por	*Delgado.*
N. 8.	Demclirer (Polka), por	*Strauss.*
N. 9.	Laxenburger (Schottisch), por	*Kaulich.*
N. 10.	Marcha, por	*Sauerthal.*

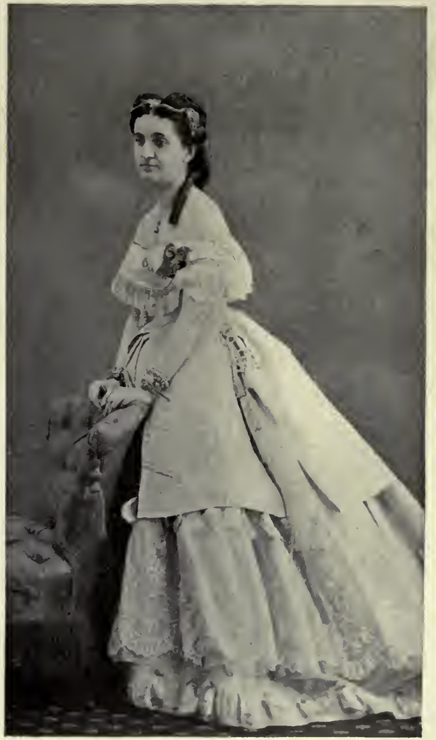
The time of duration which the State banquets occupied seldom amounted to less than three hours, and often extended beyond. They commenced usually at 3.30 in the



SEÑORA CONCEPCIÓN LIZARDI DE VALLEZ



SEÑORA OSEO DE SANOTRES NAVARRO



SEÑORA MANUELLA ESTRADA DE BARRÍO

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

afternoon. The *menus* were carefully prepared under the personal supervision of the empress, who put herself to great trouble in order to please her guests and to create a good impression. The following *menu* of the State dinner offered on 29th March 1865 by the emperor to General Bazaine, to celebrate his elevation to the rank of Grand Marshal,[1] will be of interest. The original, which is in the possession of the author, is printed upon stiff paper in black ink, bordered by elaborate ornamental scroll-work, but bears upon its face neither the imperial cipher nor any address.

Mexico, 29 Mars 1865

MENU DU DÎNER DU GRAND MARÉCHAL

Potage Brunoise
,, Tapioca.

Relevés

Bouchées aux huîtres
Poisson aux fines herbes
Filet braisé, sauce Richelieu.

Entrées

Côtelettes jardinière
Vol-au-vent financière
Saumon à la Tartare
Cailles Périgueux.

Punch à la Romaine

Rôts
Dinde au cresson
Selle d'agneau.

Entremets

Pois à la française
Asperges hollandaise
Gelée au marasquin

Gâteau d'abricots
Pudding diplomate
Glace à la Vanille

2 Pièces montées.

---

[1] 5th November 1864.

Another palace dinner menu of more ordinary proportions was the following:

COMIDA DEL DIA 27 DE ABRIL DE 1865

Sopa à la Sévigné
Las croquétas à la Mazarin
Las riselas con estiones
Los lomos à la parisienne
Las truchas à la genovésa
Las costillas jardinera.
Los patés con aceituna
Los filètes de gallinas à la tolosa
Los pastèles de Strasburgo
Los chicharos à la francesa
Los coliflores
Asados: Los pollos con trufas
Las godornices
Ensaladas
Pudding de Sago
Crocets de aroz
Créma de todas frutas
Conservos de peras
Queso y Mantequilla
Helados de fresas y leche
Frutas y pastèles.

At the end of the dinner the emperor and empress would rise from the table, the whole of the guests following, and leave the banqueting-hall in precisely the same order as that in which they had entered it. Assembled once more in the brilliantly illuminated salons, formal presentations to their majesties were made, the guests remaining standing grouped in a semicircle around the imperial pair, who, afterwards separating, and each accompanied by a chamberlain, made a tour of the rooms, Maximilian commencing at one end and Charlotte at the other.

The invitations distributed among those attending the empress's parties were very plainly printed and couched in the following terms:

El Gran Chambelan de la Emperatriz tiene la honra de invitar de orden de Su Majestad al Señor..
..........................*y Señora*...........
para la tertulia que tendrá lugar en el Palacio de Mexico el — de Febréro de 1865 *á las* 8 *de la noche.*

It was here that the exceptional powers of diplomacy and easy adaptation to her surroundings possessed by the Empress Charlotte were clearly manifested. Stopping and exchanging a few sentences of greeting with each person she passed, addressing them in their own language, no matter what it might be, this gifted lady managed invariably to say the correct thing, and to touch upon some subject nearest to the national pride or private interest of her hearer. So tactful were her observations, and with so much sincerity were they uttered, that the delighted guest would feel both flattered and charmed beyond belief, being convinced that her Majesty was not only the most beautiful and most affable of women, but took a particular and exclusive interest in this individual's private affairs. No woman of her day more completely realised Milton's conception in his *Paradise Lost*—'grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eyes! in every gesture dignity and love.'

Musical evenings were much in vogue when the court was in residence at Mexico City or at Chapultepec, both the emperor and empress being great admirers of the Italian opera. From among a number of programmes in the possession of the author, the following is selected as an example of the entertainment which was offered.

PROGRAMA DEL CONCIERTO

Primera Parte

1. Serenata de Fausto—*Gounod*—Cantada por el Sr. Biachi.
2. Mon Fils, Romanza del Profeta—*Meyerbeer*—Cantada por la Señorita Sulzer.
3. La Donna é Mobile—*Verdi*—Cantada por el Sr. Mazzolenni.
4. Fantasia Brillante para el Violin, dedicada á S. M. el Rey Leopoldo y ejecutada por su compositor el Sr. Jehin-Prume, con acompañamiento de la Orquesta.
5. Terceto de los Lombardos—*Verdi*—Cantada por la Señorita Ortolani y los Sres. Mazzolenni y Biachi.

Segunda Parte

6. Aria del Barbero de Sevilla—*Rossini*—Cantada por el Sr. Orlandini.

7. Recuerdos de Chateaubriand—por *Quidant*—Ejecutado en el Piano por el Sr. Léon.
8. Aria de la Traviata—*Verdi*—Cantada por la Señorita Ortolani.
9. Brindis de Lucrecia—*Donizetti*—Cantada por la Señorita Sulzer.
10. Elegie, compuesta para el violin por Ernst y ejecutado por el Sr. Jehin-Prume, con acompañamiento de Piano.
11. Quarteto de Rigoletto—*Verdi*—Cantada por las Sras. Ortolani y Sulzer y los Sres. Mazzolenni y Orlandini.

The novelty of the imperial entertainments soon ceased, however, to attract the fickle and capricious Mexicans, some of the diversions organised by the emperor and empress for the amusement of these people and the French officers' families being only sparsely attended. Other leaders had followed the example of the imperial pair for a time, Marshal Bazaine having, for example, converted the covered courtyard of his magnificent house into a sumptuous ball-room, where he entertained lavishly; among his guests, upon frequent occasions, were the emperor and empress. But the social breach which had been created between the principal Mexican families and the French officers—especially such of them as had been accompanied by their women-folk—gradually widened, and the peace was maintained with the utmost difficulty, calling, indeed, for the exercise of the greatest diplomacy and vigilance upon the part of both sovereigns.

The position of the commander-in-chief was likewise rendered a particularly trying one. Having married a Mexican lady, his inclinations and obligations were naturally drawn towards the society of which she was a distinguished member; on the other hand, he was bound to retain close social relations with his own countrymen, for whose general ill-manners and occasionally insultingly provocative behaviour, however, he found himself continually called upon to apologise. The Countess Paula Kollonitz, to whom we are indebted for a very sympathetic picture of the court of Maximilian, has told us that the position of the emperor with respect to the French was beset with difficulties and much unpleasantness; it was ill-defined and unnatural, and but few of the French authorities, to whose direction the diplomatic, financial, and military affairs were entrusted, had the tact and the delicacy to soften for the emperor the feeling of dependence upon French aid. This circumstance, the same observant writer has declared, was probably found harder to bear than all other difficulties combined.

In the privacy of their own apartments the imperial pair maintained but little ceremony, preferring to remáin by themselves, enjoying each other's society, untrammelled by inquisitive and not always very kindly or sympathetic eyes. The empress had for her ladies-in-waiting only Mexicans. The Countess Paula Kollonitz, who had accompanied her Majesty from Austria in April 1864, was compelled to leave the imperial service in the following November, and she was never replaced by any other European attendant. The principal ladies of the court were, in addition to the Countess Kollonitz, the Señora Luz Blanco de Roblès; Señora Soledad Vivanco de Cervantes; Señora Guadaloupe Cervantes de Moran; Señora Manuéla de Plaizora; Señora Dolores Peña del Hidalgo y Terán; Señora Dolores Quesada d'Almonte; Señora Ana Rosa de Rincón Gallardo; Señora Maria Barrío de Campéro; Señora Francisca Escandón y Landa; Señora Rosa Obregon de Uraza; Señora Muñoz de Peraz; Señora Carolina Barron de Escandón; Señora Dolores Germandin de Elguerro; Señora Rocha de Roblès; Señora Luz Roblès de Bringas; Señora Josefa Cardeña de Salas; Señora Luisa Quejano de Rincón Gallardo; Señora Concepción Lizardi de Vallez; Señora Manuella Gutierrez Estrada de Barrío; Señora Oseo de Sanotres Navarro; and Señora de Estrada.

These twenty-one ladies were drawn from the ranks of the leading Mexican families, while some of the other members were found to be strong adherents of the Liberals. They were all married women, residing in their own houses, and they attended the court in relays.

There were those among them who formed a lasting attachment to their royal mistress, for Charlotte very readily won the confidence and affection of her attendants. She was invariably kindly in her manner towards the members of her suite, even as she was gracious to the lowliest servant in the imperial household.

Several of the old and tried domestics of the emperor and empress, who had accompanied them from Europe, were dismissed and sent home in order to placate the hostile critics among the Republican party, who complained of the imperial favouritism and extravagance. When their places were filled, it was invariably by Mexicans. So far, however, from satisfying their enemies, this action upon the part of the emperor and empress seemed to elicit little but contempt, while the dismissed attendants not unnaturally deeply resented the injustice of which they were the victims. The one servant who absolutely refused to leave, and who showed so much resolution to remain that Maximilian was compelled to submit, was his Hungarian cook, Tudos, who was with him through his short life of pomp and circumstance, who followed him upon his imprisonment, and cheerfully shared his captivity so that he might better minister to the emperor's small and simple wants; he also stood devotedly near at hand upon the place of execution.

How pathetically does the willing service of this poor and ignorant peasant compare with the cowardly and despicable conduct of the high-born Baron von Lago, the unworthy Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, who not only neglected his prince while in prison, but completely deserted him at the time of his impending dissolution. Nevertheless, it was this same craven diplomat who was made the recipient of distinguished honours at the hands of the Emperor Francis Joseph when he once more found himself safe upon Austrian soil.

Charlotte was distinguished at the court of Mexico not alone for her great personal beauty but for the usually perfect taste in which she was costumed, a taste which never failed to command approval. Her arrival in Mexico was preceded by that of a number of first-class French and Belgian milliners, whose effort it was to induce the Mexican ladies to adopt the European fashions of the day in deference to her Majesty's wishes. The result, however, was very ridiculous, since many of the Mexican women, unused to the large bonnet and the clumsy crinoline of the '60's, found the utmost difficulty in adapting these garments to daily use.

Instead of retaining the *mantilla*, one of the most graceful of feminine garments, and the *reboso*, another very becoming article of woman's attire, these silly women attempted to conceal their heads in hideous Parisian creations of straw adorned with yards upon yards of ribbons and with mountainous erections of feathers and flowers. It is said that upon their first appearance at court in these grotesque foreign acquisitions, which covered their usually lank, black hair, forced into unnatural-looking curls, frizettes and fringes, the effect was so ludicrous that the Empress Charlotte almost choked with suppressed laughter. A contemporary writer even declares that 'some of the ladies wore their bonnets back to front.'

State ceremonies appealed very strongly to Charlotte's womanly mind; accustomed as she had been to the full ceremonial of the courts of Europe, and to those of Belgium and Austria in particular, it was but natural that she should have given attention to such matters at the court of Mexico. Writing upon this subject the Countess Paula Kollonitz says:[1]

> 'Her Majesty dearly loves state magnificence on her appearance in public. She could not require much at first in this matter from her suite, but she herself had a childish joy in showing herself upon great occasions to the astonished multitudes in her diadem and gold-embroidered robe, with its long and highly-adorned red velvet train hanging from her shoulders.'

The immense variety of Charlotte's wardrobe, with its costly robes of state and superb imperial jewels, seems to have excited much annoyance among the austere Liberals, who publicly commented with bitter irony upon 'the imperial extravagance.'

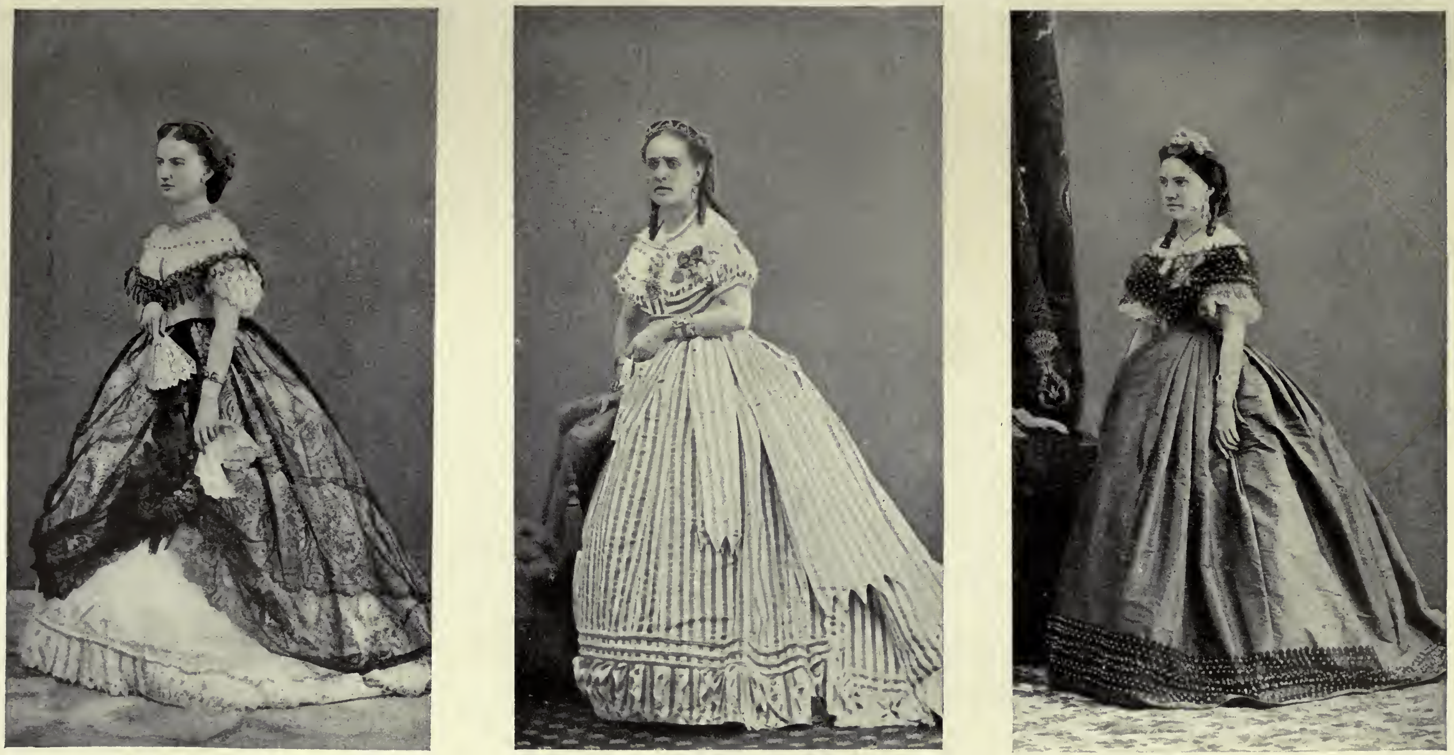
---

[1] *The Court of Mexico*, by the Countess Paula Kollonitz.

Undoubtedly in the early days of the court, before the stringency of the financial situation was experienced—and this had already commenced to assert itself while Charlotte still remained in the country—a great deal of prodigality was indulged in. Charlotte enjoyed unrestricted access to the imperial treasury, and having been habituated all her life to unlimited means for the purpose of dress, she indulged in every wild whim of fashion, without pause or thought. Her personal wardrobe appears to have comprised an extraordinary and endless diversity of costume, a variety which must have recalled to memory William Allen Butler's 'Nothing to Wear' lady:

> 'Dresses for breakfast, and dinners, and balls;
> Dresses to sit in, to stand in, and walk in;
> Dresses to dance in, and flirt in, and talk in;
> Dresses in which to do nothing at all;
> Dresses for winter, spring, summer, and fall;
> All of them different in colour and shape,
> Silk, muslin, and lace, velvet, satin, and crape;
> Brocade and broadcloth, and other material
> Quite as expensive, and much more ethereal.'

A social innovation which Charlotte had endeavoured to introduce into Mexico proved a fiasco. A perfect horsewoman, accustomed to the saddle from her youngest days, and acknowledged as one of the most graceful riders of her period, the empress tried to popularise equine exercise among her *entourage*. But in vain. Although Mexican men are celebrated for their splendid equitation, and frequently command admiration by their fearless grace in the saddle, Mexican women are, and always have been, exceptionally awkward upon horseback. In the end Charlotte abandoned the effort, and she had to content herself with an exclusively male escort when she went abroad upon her much-loved rides.



SEÑORA SOLEDAD VIVANCO DE CERVANTES

SEÑORA GUADALOUPE CERVANTES DE MORAN

SEÑORA LUZ DE ROBLÈS

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

As soon as she had settled comfortably in the imperial residence of Chapultepec, a beautifully located but outwardly unpretentious building, located about three miles from Mexico City, and erected upon the original site of Moctezuma's palace (rebuilt by one of the Spanish viceroys), the empress took daily exercise on horseback through the surrounding country. Upon these expeditions she was accompanied by Count Bombelles and one other gentleman-in-waiting. Her favourite form of morning recreation finished, the empress would usually set out for the city, and there, seated by the side of Maximilian—leaving again only when he left—she would devote herself assiduously to the affairs of state. The emperor made frequent use of Charlotte's ready pen, while he deferred gladly to her advice, especially upon matters relating to public charity and education; here her keen intellect stood them both in good stead, and even experienced statesmen marvelled at her shrewdness and firmness, and at her clear powers of reasoning.

When not actually engaged in State affairs, Charlotte made a point of visiting public institutions, schools, and hospitals, where her influence was paramount and her presence ever found most welcome. These imperial visits were not, however, regarded with approval by the clergy, since the assiduity with which the empress looked after the poor and the sick was accepted as a tacit reproach to the members of the Church, who usually displayed an almost complete indifference to, and neglect of, such charitable duties.

The bitter jealousy with which these efforts upon the part of the kind-hearted Charlotte were regarded is proved by the action of the Mexican clergy immediately after the empire and its adherents had been swept away.

In the *Times* newspaper of 14th October 1867 may be found the following significant paragraph:

'The Mexicans have determined upon abolishing all the charitable institutions which were opened under the late Emperor Maximilian. A school, conducted by Sisters of

Charity, has been closed, and another, under the patronage of the Republic of Mexico, is about to be opened.'

At such times as Maximilian was called away from his capital—and he passed many months travelling in those portions of his riotous empire where the presence of the French troops rendered it possible—the affairs of State were left entirely in Charlotte's hands. She was endowed with the full powers of regent; she presided at State Councils and held public audiences, which had been instituted as a regular feature of the monarchy; she was also consulted in every important matter by the ministers. These duties she performed—little more than a girl, though she was, even at this period—with a punctiliousness, a patience, and a fearlessness altogether remarkable.

At this time, also, the empress took up her chief residence in the Imperial Palace at Mexico City, a vast and ugly barrack-like building, altogether comfortless and now known as the 'National Palace.' She was attended there during the day by the Mexican ladies of the court—married women in all cases, after the custom of the French and Belgian courts—who, however, resided habitually with their families. General Almonte was also deputed by Maximilian to take up his abode in the palace for the purpose of more closely watching over the empress's safety, and that amiable and gallant soldier, with his wife, became among the most intimate among Charlotte's *entourage*.

During Maximilian's long and frequent absences from the capital, Charlotte remained a good deal in the palace, shut within her own apartments, engrossed in State affairs, or in reading and writing. Her devotion to her imperial duties, her readiness to listen to any personal complaints, to redress any wrong, her invariably sweet disposition and her splendid heroism under the strain of many severe trials and disappointments, endeared her to all her attendants, and caused them to regard her almost as a goddess. Once again to quote the testimony of the sympathetic Countess Kollonitz: 'Her love for all that is right and good must have excited the deep veneration of every one who was ever in personal contact with this noble woman.'

Towards the end of 1865 the Empress Charlotte undertook a journey to Yucatán, the southern peninsula of Mexico, and the great henequen-producing region of the world. To the unitiated it seemed difficult to understand the special reason for selecting this scenically-uninteresting part of the country for an excursion, since the greater portion of Yucatán is a flat, almost bare, plain, with numerous rugged mountain ranges, and not a single river in the whole thirty-five thousand square miles of its territory. Moreover, the country was inhabited by the wildest and most disorderly Indians, who had always proved troublesome subjects to deal with.

But a visit to the district had been promised by Maximilian shortly after he entered Mexico, and he had always intended to undertake it in company with Charlotte. The continued distressful condition of the rest of the country, however, and the strained relations existing between the sovereign and the commander-in-chief, precluded the emperor from undertaking the journey, and consequently at his request the empress made it alone.

The journey to Vera Cruz and her reception in that town proved extremely agreeable, and her experiences were in marked contrast to the chilling greeting extended upon the occasion of their Majesties' arrival in May of 1864. The royal carriage was drawn in triumph by the people through the streets, and the same frantic welcome was extended to her Majesty in Yucatán, the inhabitants having declared themselves almost unanimously in favour of the empire since Navarette had conquered Campeche in the month of February 1864.

CHAPTER XV

Maximilian's perplexities commence—Initial mistakes of policy—Court appointments—Emperor's poor judgment of character—General Leonardo Marquez—Unfavourable career—Father Augustin Fischer—Bad influences upon Maximilian—Emperor reconstructs his army—Financial problem—First loan issued in France—Pressing demands of Napoleon—Onerous conditions of the Convention of Miramar—Enormous indebtedness contracted—Maximilian resists French demands for cession of Sonora.

The glamour of their new position having lost something of its intensity, both Maximilian and Charlotte commenced, upon their return from their provincial trips, to realise the seriousness of the new rôle which they had so lightly undertaken, and appreciated to a fuller extent the responsibilities attaching to it. No sooner were they installed at the palace, which they found by no means a sumptuous nor even a convenient residence for a royal prince, than the emperor was approached by Napoleon's minister and enterprising 'collector,' the Marquis de Monthalon, who had been strictly enjoined to press for a settlement of the French claims at the earliest opportunity. He acted upon his instructions with rather too much zeal to please Maximilian, who, now that he was enthroned and was finding the demands upon his time and his attention greater than he had either anticipated or appreciated, displayed but small anxiety to meet even the earliest of his financial engagements.

Nor was this all. In settling his palace and cabinet appointments, Maximilian unwisely overlooked the claims—not always pressed, but nevertheless existent—of many of those who had notably assisted to procure the intervention and his own election—members of the conservative and clerical party. No doubt he was guided by a desire to conciliate the Liberal party, of whose animosity and determined opposition he was well aware, and hoped by blending the representatives of the two factions in his *entourage* to bring about a satisfactory and well-balanced administration. But he acted without any knowledge of the intensely jealous nature of the Mexican and his inability to understand magnanimity upon the part of an opponent. Such overtures are invariably construed as a sign of weakness, and elicit neither gratitude not respect. Thus his earliest efforts proved doubly unsuccessful.

The French members of the court were especially neglected, for Maximilian considered that offence would be occasioned to his new subjects if any evidence existed of his dependence upon foreign advice and influence. He dismissed, with as much grace as he could assume, a number of French officers from their positions—positions which many of them had occupied with satisfactory results from the beginning of the intervention—and replaced them by Mexicans. On the other hand, several prominent Mexican officers, notably Colonel La Peña of the Gendarmerie, Colonel Galvez, and Colonel Arguyes, were removed in favour of certain French and Belgian officials. Even some distinguished generals were overlooked when the redistribution of positions was under consideration, while the personal influences of General Almonte and Señor Velasquez de Leon were permitted to make themselves felt in the preferment of their favourites.

At one time it was contemplated to remove General Méjìa, the man who had fought so gallantly for the imperial cause at San Luis Potósi, and to replace him by an altogether inferior and untried foreigner. Maximilian was saved from making this crowning blunder, however, a reality which he learned to appreciate at its full value in later years. The emperor's incapacity for judging men's characters, his poor experience of human attainments and defects, his unfortunate readiness to pronounce upon good qualities and to ignore bad—but above all, his easy capitulation to a good-looking man or an attractive woman, irrespective of any mental or moral recommendations—resulted in a selection of worthless and treacherous occupants for some of the most onerous and important positions, among such being General Marquez, Colonel Lopez, Father Fischer and others.

General Leonardo Marquez, however, was extremely repulsive in appearance. Small in stature, very wizened in features, he possessed a scowling and ill-favoured expression, the uncomeliness of which was considerably accentuated by the loss of one eye. This defect had been occasioned during a street fight in one of the many Mexican revolutions, an opponent having fired upon Marquez from an open window as he passed triumphantly through the streets at the head of his troop. He had also received a shot wound in his face which had left a lurid scar, usually concealed by a ragged beard; whenever he shaved, however, the scar stood out like a livid blood mark. Notwithstanding his unpleasing exterior, Marquez was gifted with great intelligence and remarkable powers of discernment. He spoke but seldom, but listened with intent, and little or nothing escaped his notice. A certain old-world courtesy and a quiet, well-modulated voice, likewise helped to counteract to some extent the unfavourable impression which his physical appearance would be likely at first to create.

Prince Felix zu Salm Salm, who sometimes allowed his personal prejudices to blind him to any good or bad points that may have existed in an opponent, declared that in the Mexican War Marquez was known as 'The Alva of Mexico,' [1] a reputation which, he adds, 'he most richly deserved.'

Owing to his natural disposition for harshness Marquez was also generally given the sobriquet of 'The Tiger,' a nickname which he earned principally on account of the number of prisoners who, by his order, were put to death surreptitiously as well as openly. The execution of the venerable General O'Horan, upon a perfectly false charge, for example, was but one among a number of similar episodes which distinguished his savagery of temper; and so intensely was he hated by his subordinate officers that during the siege of Mexico City, in the month of May 1867, a meeting of all the foreign officers was held, at which it was determined unanimously no longer to serve under General Marquez. The main complaint made against him had been his cowardly desertion of his command at San Cristóbal, in consequence of which two-thirds of the foreign regiments co-operating with him had been lost, while his bestial cruelties in other directions had completely disgusted his former companions in arms. General Porfirio Diaz, who had learned of Marquez's atrocious acts, allowed it to become known that should that individual fall into his hands, his life, under any circumstances, would he forfeit. The Liberal Government also offered $10,000 for his body, 'dead or alive.' It is said by the Princess zu Salm Salm in her Memoirs that an American once told her that he knew quite well where General Marquez was hiding himself, but he would not reveal the place to the government, 'because he felt sure that they would not pay.'

---

[1] The Duke of Alva (1508-83) was known throughout Europe for his inhuman cruelties during the war of Charles v. and Philip II. of Spain. In December 1573, upon returning home accompanied by his son, he made the infamous boast that during the course of six years, besides the multitudes destroyed in battle and massacred after victory, he had consigned eighteen thousand persons to the executioner.

A no less undesirable appointment was that of the adventurer Augustin Fischer, who proved himself so great an incubus upon Maximilian's fortunes.

Augustin Fischer was of German origin, but he spoke English and French with complete facility. Indeed, when corresponding with Maximilian he generally chose the former language, and the facsimile letter addressed to Fischer (16th Jan. 1867), which will be found elsewhere, shows how admirably the emperor also both understood and corresponded in our language.

In the year 1845 Fischer had joined a body of colonists proceeding to Texas; after serving in a humble capacity both there and subsequently in California, where he soon deserted his office employment in order to join in the wild search for gold, he determined to renounce the Protestant religion in which he had been strictly raised, in order to accept service under the Roman Catholic Church. His first post was that of private secretary to the Mexican Bishop of Durango, but his conduct proved anything but satisfactory; he was soon banished from the episcopal palace on account of his profligate tendencies, but by reason of his ready wits and plausible manner he found other and more congenial employment in the house of Señor Sanchez Navarro, by whom he was subsequently presented to Maximilian.

With his extraordinarily—as in this case—unfortunate propensity to yielding to an outwardly-pleasing manner and plausible tongue, the emperor soon fell under the spell of Fischer's personality, and from the occasion upon which he first met with him until within a few days of his own end Maximilian remained Fischer's dupe and victim.

To this deceptive priest and false friend was entrusted a delicate diplomatic mission to the Holy See; but, however much Fischer may have impressed the emperor in Mexico, he failed signally to elicit the slightest sympathy at Rome. He returned from his mission wholly unsuccessful. So far from blaming him, however, Maximilian extended his deepest sympathy, accepting Fischer's highly-coloured explanation of his failure without a moment's doubt or displeasure. Another ecclesiastical post was soon found for him; he was promised the bishopric of Queretaro. But here the Archbishop of Mexico found it possible to thwart the wishes of Maximilian and to snub the 'heretic' Fischer at the same time; the anointment of the bishop-designate never took place. He was consoled, however, by being appointed by the emperor to a far more influential post, that of Chief of the Imperial Cabinet, in company with other reactionaries—Larès, Marin, Campos, Tavera, Osmont, and Friant. Not one of these appointments could be considered as having been judiciously bestowed, and,

SEÑORA FRANCISCA ESCANDÓN Y LANDA

SEÑORA CAROLINA BARRON DE ESCANDÓN

SEÑORA LUISA QUEJANO DE RINCÓN GALLARDO

LADIES OF CHARLOTTE'S COURT

indeed, Maximilian seemed at this time determined to commit political suicide by selecting such men as these for his chief advisers. Their preferment occasioned as much surprise in Mexico as they excited indignation in France.

Bitterly hostile to the French, and a determined enemy in particular of Marshal Bazaine, Father Fischer neglected no opportunity of empoisoning Maximilian's ear against them. He deceived and disobeyed the emperor whenever he wished to bring about anything which was opposed, or forbidden, by Maximilian. Thus when his Majesty had twice refused to pardon a notorious malefactor named Rosada, who had been tried, convicted, and sentenced by a French court martial, Father Fischer, who was personally interested in the culprit, did not hesitate to despatch a forged order from the Imperial Cabinet, ordering Rosada's release. As Imperial Secretary he was enabled to do this without the fact becoming known even to Maximilian.

Convinced that with the fall or abdication of the empire his own fast growing authority would come to an end, the whole of Fischer's persuasive powers were devoted to encouraging the emperor to persevere with his apparently hopeless and thankless task. In July 1866, shortly after the empress had left for Europe, and again in October (of the same year) following an especially severe quarrel with Marshal Bazaine, and the receipt of a further damaging communication from the French court, Maximilian had determined, so far as a weak and vacillating mind like his could be brought to determine upon anything, to abdicate. He ordered the necessary preparations for his departure to be made, and part of the imperial baggage was taken on board the Austrian frigate *Dandolo*, then lying in the harbour of Vera Cruz. But while pretending to acquiesce and assist in the arrangements, the wily Fischer was using his utmost endeavours to induce the emperor to pass a few days of rest at Orizaba 'before proceeding upon the long and tedious journey to Europe.'

He gained his point. Once lodged at Orizaba, that restful and healthful resort which occupies one of the most attractive locations in Mexico, Father Fischer resumed complete control without difficulty over the weak-minded sovereign. He found it but a simple task to imbue him with fresh ideas of imperial ambition, while he assiduously misrepresented the political conditions of the country, declaring them to be growing absolutely peaceful, when as a fact they were becoming more confused and more chaotic than ever. Maximilian again yielded, and when almost his last chance of quitting Mexico alive had passed. There was destined to occur but one more such opportunity, and that was doomed also to be lost by reason of a similarly deplorable display of irresolution and impotence.

So pronounced had become the ascendancy of Father Fischer that he succeeded in inducing Maximilian to promise a complete reversal of his former attitude towards the Church party, by restoring to them their forfeited properties, and reinstating them in their honours and privileges. His solemn refusal to tolerate any further political dominance by the clergy given at the time that the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Meglia, was in the country, was entirely forgotten; the well-practised diplomatist at his side, who held him in the hollow of his hand, had assured his party that Maximilian 'would carry out this policy,' and but for the circumstances which were now fast hurrying the entire imperial régime to a sudden and complete collapse, there is but little question that such might well have proved to be the case.

The most important early project undertaken by Maximilian was the reconstruction of the entire military system under the orders of Marshal Bazaine, a man who was both by temperament and experience eminently fitted for the task. Here, at least, Maximilian displayed good judgment. Unfortunately, Bazaine's heavy undertaking in pacifying the country with the help of his own troops, and the rigidly restrictive instructions from France upon which he was acting, compelled him to point out to the emperor that while he was at all times desirous of fulfilling his behests, 'he could not accede to all his demands.'

Neither could he spare his own men for the purpose of permanently protecting all the Mexican towns which asked for them ; the inhabitants must, he insisted, be instructed to defend themselves. But Bazaine promised to furnish them with arms, and to help them in the organisation of their own protection. How little the majority of the people profited by this assistance is proved by the correspondence which passed between the palace and the French commander-in-chief. One communication in particular, bearing date 24th September 1864, addressed by General Bazaine to the Empress Charlotte, during the time that she was acting as regent in the absence of the emperor, may be referred to. In this letter Bazaine complains of the ineptitude and the carelessness of the civil authorities, with whom, according to his instructions from his government, he was forbidden to interfere. Already serious dissensions had arisen between the palace officials, the civil authorities, and the French commander ; but they were destined to become more and more acute as time went on.

For a long time Maximilian regarded these indications with comparative indifference ; at any rate he took but little trouble to appease the growing discontent, or to curb the hostile obstruction in evidence around him. He had thought out a certain line of policy to pursue while still sojourning at Miramar, before he had even set eyes upon a single Mexican *peon*, and without knowing anything of the actual situation in the country which he was going out to govern. His budget of laws was conceived upon his limited experiences in Europe ; and nothing could alter his determination to do a thing in his own way, when once it had been decided upon. Thus, at the outset, he had found himself in a most difficult position.

Having set in motion—without really achieving anything approaching a permanent result—the *personnel* of his administration and the reorganisation of his army, the emperor was compelled to turn his attention, all unwillingly, to the pressing matter of finance. This question, at any rate, had formed small part of his home-studies, for Maximilian had always been indifferent to the consideration of money, and never having had to earn any he possessed but a hazy idea how or where it was obtained, and how best to utilise it when acquired. He would appear to have imagined that in a reputably rich country like Mexico it must be an easy matter to amass all the funds necessary for the carrying on of the government, and for his own purposes, by levying taxes. He had made no sufficient study of the economic question, and he knew little or nothing of the existing burdens of the people, nor of the impossibility of extracting money from them at this time—impoverished as were all, and ruined as were many—after several years' exhausting political struggles which had left the country bare and the treasury empty.

No sooner, indeed, had Maximilian arrived in Mexico than, at the suggestion of his French advisers, he authorised a first loan purporting to yield a revenue of near ten per cent. It was issued in London and Paris simultaneously; the French Government, with a view to inspire confidence—in other words as a bait to the ignorant—subscribed to the amount of fifty-four million francs 'on account of its own claims in Mexico.' In spite of this high patronage the loan proved a public failure. In his annual report of 1865, the Director of the Crédit Mobilier, referring to this unfortunate flotation, observed: 'We have shrunk from no sacrifice to better the condition of our clients, but we regret to say that our efforts have brought us nothing but a serious loss.'

The French loan was issued by the Comptoir d'Escompte de Paris, notwithstanding the fact that the Comptoir was debarred by its statutes from offering subscriptions of the kind 'without the special authorisation of the Minister of Finance.' The receivers-general throughout France were therefore authorised by the minister, whose immediate subordinates they are, to receive subscriptions. The Mexican Finance Commission, under the presidency of M. de Germiny, a senator and a former Minister of Finance, took charge of the funds collected, and of the payment of interest—so long as it lasted—and during the time that the subscription lists were open the confidence of the public was continually nourished and sustained by the most laudatory accounts of the position of affairs in Mexico, which appeared in the subsidised columns of the *Moniteur*, the principal Parisian organ supporting the government.

When all of the immense sums due to one hungry creditor and another, commissions, perquisites, and expenses had been deducted from the amounts of the subscriptions received from the investing public, exactly 246,000,000 francs remained out of an issue of 272,000,000 francs. This balance was then submitted to further deductions for reserves, premiums, and lotteries, with the result that Mexico received for her share no more than 34,000,000 francs out of 272,000,000 francs, the amount for which she was rendered responsible. This was a fair specimen of French finance under the régime of the Emperor Napoleon III.

Maximilian's monetary troubles commenced upon the day that he landed at Vera Cruz, and they never left him—they were never more than temporarily alleviated—during the whole course of his reign. In order to assist him in the conduct of his financial affairs, a competent staff of clerks and accountants had been sent out from France. The members were distributed throughout the country immediately they arrived, in order to carry out the supervision of the collection of the taxes, and even to control the customs receipts; the Mexican officials were instructed to assist them in their duties, and every preparation was made for handling a revenue which, unfortunately, failed to accrue. The local officials, however, refused to work with the French accountants, and nothing effective resulted from their presence in the country.

The first official intimation which reached Maximilian of the serious condition of the country's finances, which had become more and more involved since the commencement of the French intervention, was on 25th November 1864; it was conveyed in the form of a polite but exceedingly firm demand that 'the French claims should receive attention.' Unfortunately the limited returns which the Imperial Government was able to wring from the impoverished country and from the customs revenues, which were being scandalously mismanaged and robbed by both French and Mexican officials, was mainly devoted to the payment for the French troops. Maximilian was unable to offer any objection. 'Clause 10' of the 'Convention of Miramar,'[1] which he had signed so light-heartedly, exacted that the imperial treasury was to find one thousand francs (£40) per annum for each French soldier in Mexico, and there were over thirty thousand of them.

Pressed though he was for ready money, Maximilian, with characteristic generosity and improvidence, wished to bestow a very large sum of money upon Marshal Bazaine as a wedding gift, when, in June of 1865, he was married to an already wealthy Mexican lady, a near relative of President Juarez, the avowed enemy of the imperial régime. The exact sum was a hundred thousand piastres (500,000 francs), and this, in addition to a beautiful residence known as the Palace of Buena Vista, including some handsome furniture and several acres of gardens, formed the gift of Maximilian and Charlotte to the marshal and his wife. It is greatly to the credit of Bazaine that he gracefully declined the money gift, while accepting the remainder of this very princely dowry. He had also declined to accept the offer of the emperor to create him 'Duke of Mexico.'

The Convention of Miramar was framed almost entirely in favour of France; although Maximilian may have received the advice of some disinterested parties before giving his final consent, he must have been of a peculiarly trustful and pliable nature to have accepted the entire provisions of this onerous agreement. Had it been possible for the Mexican Government under the empire to have paid the immense amounts stipulated, France would have emerged from the enterprise, not only without suffering any financial loss but probably having gained an actual profit. That is to say, Napoleon would have been enabled to indulge his ambition and to pose as a great coloniser and, at the same time, materially benefit from the different speculations—the schemes of de Morny and others—which originated the expedition and without the undertaking having cost him a sou.

---

[1] See Appendix.

It was barely possible, however, that the young empire could have hoped to pay anything approaching the sums agreed to by Maximilian without bankrupting an already impoverished treasury; Mexican national credit could hardly be said to exist upon the European markets at that time.

For the privilege of support by the French troops, Maximilian's Government agreed to find an amount of no less than 270,000,000 francs (£10,800,000) up to the 1st July 1864, after which date the payment was to be at the rate of 1000 francs (£40) per man per annum, and since there were estimated to have remained in Mexico, from the date mentioned, at least 30,000 men, the annual charge upon the country's restricted revenue would have amounted to a further 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000). Thus the young empire was saddled with a solid debt of £10,800,000, upon which it was to pay an annual interest at the rate of three per cent. (£324,000), and find an annual payment of £1,200,000 for the use of the French troops after 1st July 1864.

Nor was this all. The Mexican Government undertook to defray the expenses of provisioning and equipping the French troops from Europe, and to this end provide for a bi-monthly transport service between France and Mexico (Vera Cruz) at the rate of 400,000 francs each voyage (out and home), or, let us say, it had to meet an additional annual expenditure of 2,400,000 francs (£96,000). How was it at all possible ?

Even these exorbitant terms, however, did not apparently satisfy the cupidity of the French emperor, for we learn that he requested Maximilian to ratify a former agreement which had been made between the Marquis de Monthalon, the French Minister to Mexico, and Señor Luis de Arroyo, who represented the Regency of the Empire of Mexico, by the terms of which the immensely rich mineral province of Sonora, comprising 198,496 square kilometres, was to be ceded permanently to France. To his credit be it recorded, Maximilian emphatically refused to consent to any such spoliation, and this fact was very properly but ineffectually urged in his defence at the time of his trial before the court-martial of Queretaro.

It will not be overlooked by the intelligent critic that in this matter the French emperor once again demonstrated how small was his ‘disinterestedness’ in sending the expeditionary force to Mexico; also how dishonourably he had endeavoured to evade the engagements entered into in the Convention of London by which, in common with Spain and England, France had agreed not to appropriate an acre of territory belonging to Mexico. Had Napoleon had to deal with any less high-minded a man than Maximilian, he would have enriched himself at this time, only, probably, to be dispossessed later on by the United States of America.

DON S. F. MORA
Maximilian's Minister to Russia,
Denmark, Sweden, and
Norway

M. JULES FAVRE
Famous French Advocate who
denounced the French
Intervention

DON JOSÉ SALAZAR LLARREGIN
Maximilian's Minister of
Public Works

CHAPTER XVI

Bazaine's operations in the interior (1864) — Seizure of Morélia and Guanajuato—Guadalajara captured—Defeat of Liberals at Matehuala—Abandonment of Tuxpan, Minatítlan and San Juan Bautísta —Arrival of Maximilian and Charlotte—Bazaine's difficulties increase —Mexican treachery—Two years' operations reviewed—Negative progress—Liberal troops becoming more confident—General Castagny —Manzanillo won and abandoned.

The French expeditionary columns left Mexico City, their headquarters, on 9th November 1863, General Bazaine joined them on the 18th, while General Douay, carrying out a quick and successful movement, reached and occupied Queretaro on the 19th. General de Castagny took Acambaro on the 24th, and he was joined there by General Marquez on the 27th. The division commanded by General Berthier, consisting of four thousand six hundred and ninety-two men, occupied the town of Morélia on the 30th. General Marquez met with a particularly hostile reception at Acambaro, one of his junior officers being assassinated in the streets as the troops passed by.

Following the seizure of Morélia, Bazaine set out for the rich mining district of Guanajuato, one of the oldest and most productive silver-mining provinces of Mexico. He secured possession of the town with little trouble on 8th December, when, taking with him the greater portion of General Douay's division as well as that of General de Castagny, he set out in pursuit of Doblado. His success, however, was not very great, for no sooner did the French army arrive anywhere near the resting-place of Juarez's astute Foreign Minister, than the latter promptly departed, thus leading Bazaine's troops a profitless chase over nearly one half of the Republic. In the end the pursuit was abandoned. General Douay was no more happy in his efforts to secure the person of the same slippery individual. On the other hand the body of Liberals, under General Uruaga, was unexpectedly encountered, and on the 17th December a fierce engagement ensued between these troops and the forces under General Marquez, near Piedra-Gorda, and here it was that Marquez was wounded in the face, while forty-five of his men were killed and eighty-eight were injured. This proved to be the first occasion upon which the Mexicans serving in opposite camps had found themselves face to face without the French troops being present: they fought each other like wild cats, all the fierceness of their Indian blood rising to the surface, and causing them to use tooth and nail when unable to handle their weapons further.

General Uruaga, after fighting long and desperately, was compelled to fall back from before the onslaught made by General Marquez, who, whatever may be said to his personal discredit or his moral degeneracy, was certainly a brilliant soldier and a fearless fighter. During the entire campaign he showed great resourcefulness, and it was his inherent power of adaptation to existing circumstances which, no doubt, induced him to abandon his imperial master when he once was convinced that the cause of the latter had become hopeless.

General Méjìa, another brave and resourceful Mexican Imperialist officer, who had been left in command at Guanajuato by General Bazaine, after the latter had taken his departure, had later on been despatched to San Luis Potósi, a French force being sent to occupy the mining town of Guanajuato in his place. General Méjìa, although he had no more than two thousand five hundred men at his orders, managed, by exerting his great personal influence, to secure possession of the town of San Luis, General Negrete, who had held it for the Liberals, giving way to him without firing a shot. On 27th December the Imperial troops took possession.

A few days afterwards, however, General Negrete repented of his action; being now reinforced to the extent of several thousand men from Zacatecas, he attacked the town from three sides, but was repulsed by the plucky Méjìa who secured over eight hundred prisoners, the whole of Negrete's artillery, and all of his equipment. On the other hand, the losses among his own men did not exceed fifty killed and sixty-five wounded. The captured Liberals, with their usual indifference to the justice of the cause for which they fought so strenuously and died so heroically, at once joined Méjìa's forces, and thereafter they battled just as fiercely against their former brothers-in-arms, and upon the side of the Imperialists.

On the 5th January 1864 the important town of Guadalajara, capital of the State of Jalísco, fell to the arms of General Bazaine, so that by this time the Imperialists had taken possession of at least eight of the principal cities in Mexico —Queretaro, Morélia, Guanajuato, Leon, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potósi, and Guadalajara. But even so they were a very long way from having 'conquered Mexico.' The whole of the northern and southern States had yet to be subdued or won, and, at the rate of progress which the expeditionary forces were showing, this would occupy another five years at least to complete. French troops had been in the country since the early days of January 1862. and this was the sum total of their achievements at the end of two years (5th January 1864).

During the following months of February and March a number of minor engagements took place between the two now thoroughly embittered parties, the death-roll upon both sides being rapidly swelled, while disease was prevalent in both camps—but especially virulent in that of the French, who were still unacclimatised and unable to sustain the violent changes between a great heat and an intense cold, which had to be faced in the inequitable temperature of Mexico. A considerable portion of the French troops had to be detailed to meet the even more daring attacks of bandits and guerrillas, with whom the whole country was swarming. These desperadoes neither gave nor received any quarter, and both sides alike, the Imperialists and the Liberals, executed summary justice upon all who were caught with arms. Terrible reprisals were carried out, on the other hand, upon any of the Liberal or French troops who were unfortunate enough to fall into the power of these roaming bands; every conceivable barbarity was perpetrated upon them, acts far too horrible to chronicle in detail.

The Liberal forces sustained their second great defeat at Matehuala on 17th May, when the French, under Colonel Aymard, and the Mexicans, under General Méjìa, rendered an excellent account of themselves. A good many were killed and wounded upon both sides, and, cornered at last, Doblado, with his six thousand men, or what were left of them, were compelled to fly for their lives. So deeply did Doblado feel the disgrace of his defeat, that soon afterwards he quitted Mexico and sought refuge in the United States, where he died on 19th June 1865.

Tampico, which ranks as the most important Mexican port after Vera Cruz, had been occupied by the French on 11th August 1863, but owing to the ravages of yellow-fever, more than one-half of the garrison had died. No further supply of men could be well spared to replace those who were left, and as nearly every man among them was found to be suffering from ague in a greater or less degree, in view of the importance of holding the place, General Bazaine found it necessary to send a company of five hundred French veterans, men who had been accustomed to a bad climate, and to all descriptions of rough campaigning, together with a contingent of three hundred Mexicans, to hold the town for the Imperialists. The smaller port of Tuxpan, however, was abandoned.

On the 28th March Minatítlan was also vacated, originally having been won after a desperate struggle; a few days later the town of San Juan Bautísta, in the State of Tobasco, was likewise abandoned. The French were thus dropping, one by one, the several towns and ports for which they had fought so strenuously, and had won at so heavy a sacrifice of human life. At this period, in addition to the larger towns previously mentioned, the Imperial flag flew from but three ports on the coast of Yucatán—Carmen, Alvarado, and Vera Cruz. The two others, which had been abandoned (Tampico and Tuxpan), had made five out of about twenty, the whole of the remainder still being in the hands of the Liberals.

In the month of June, however, the port of Acapulco, upon the Pacific coast, was won for the empire, while General Lozada seized San Blas. Both of these stations were (and still are) very unhealthy, and the French troops who were sent to occupy them were literally consigned to their graves.

It will be recognised that very little had been effected to ensure that 'peaceable inheritance' for Maximilian which had been so glibly promised, and to which, with misplaced confidence, he had been looking forward. His arrival in his distracted kingdom was imminent, yet not more than a small portion had declared itself in his favour, and that part of the population which had acclaimed him as their emperor had been artificially inspired, and as fictitiously schooled by their French monitors, who held them, as they had first secured them, at the point of the sword.

The actual arrival of Maximilian and Charlotte in their new dominions occasioned absolutely no difference to the conduct of the war which was being carried on between the Imperialists and the Liberals. While the emperor and empress were still following their triumphal progresses through Puebla, Jalapa, Cordoba, Orizaba, and other towns, the French columns were pursuing the fleeing enemy throughout the country. Maximilian learned of and saw only as much of the actual conditions as his French tutors and their Mexican allies thought it expedient that he should be allowed to hear and see. Thus, while fierce opposition was being encountered from the whole official element and the inhabitants, three-fourths of whom were antagonistic to the French intervention and the imposition of a monarchial form of government, Maximilian, who had just returned to the capital, caused to be published in the *Journal Officiel* a letter which he had addressed to Señor Velasquez de Leon, wherein he gave his impressions of the political conditions prevailing, adding the extraordinarily self-deceptive statement, 'je suis convaincu de l'adhésion à l'empire de l'immense majorité du pays.'

General Bazaine's most difficult task was still, as it always had been, to establish and maintain his communications between his bases and his troops. He was travelling further and further from Vera Cruz in one direction, while his generals were separating gradually from Tampico in another. It will be remembered that these formed the only two ports, the principal ones, in the country which were favourable to the Imperial cause, and one of them, Tampico, had subsequently to be abandoned. The bad faith of the French was no less of an obstacle to progress, since Mexicans, who are usually suspicious of the foreigner, had, unfortunately, placed some dependence upon the solemn agreement of the Gallic invaders when, as a return for local support and assistance, they consented to remain in the towns when captured and not to evacuate them.

As in San Andrés and Tehuacán, so in numerous other instances they were basely betrayed. No sooner had the French left these places, which they did almost as soon as they had occupied them, than down came a body of revengeful Liberal troops who slaughtered the unfortunate inhabitants, robbed their homes, and committed every possible excess, their victims having no means whatever to defend themselves, since the French had left them neither arms nor sufficient garrison to protect them. Thus instead of the French troops being heralded as 'the saviours of the country,' as M. Billault,[1] in Paris, had been telling the Chamber of Deputies was the case, their arrival in a town was regarded as a sure indication that it would speedily become the prey of the Liberal forces who would soon be free to rob, murder, and punish as Juarez had repeatedly warned his compatriots would be the case wherever and whenever a Mexican was found offering the slightest encouragement or a particle of food to the invaders. The French troops were neither numerically strong enough nor expected to afford protection to the Mexicans in the villages, nor to the owners of the *haciendas* which they visited in order to replenish their provisions and to rest their horses. In every case where the owners had, willingly or unwillingly, assisted them in this manner, they were penalised by the Juarist troops, either immediately afterwards or at some future time.

---

[1] M. Billault was one of the ministers of the Emperor Napoleon without a portfolio. He was the mouthpiece of the emperor, but nevertheless carried great weight in the Chamber of Deputies, where his most able and eloquent opponent was Maître Jules Favre, the distinguished advocate.

The several advantages which were gained one day by Bazaine and his generals, who were conducting the war in different parts of the country, were completely lost upon another, no real or permanent progress was or could be made, and while, as already shown, the French had been in Mexico as belligerents for over two years, they had practically accomplished nothing definitive.

On the 1st August 1864 took place the important battle of Candelaria, between the French force under Colonel Tourre and the Liberals under General Ugalde. It was hoped by the Liberals that the French would be caught in the dangerous defile of Candelaria, which proved, indeed, to be the case; and that although there were but eight hundred of the Liberal troops engaged they would be able, on account of their superior position and intimate knowledge of the country, to wipe-out the entire French force. But the latter, as always, fought their way gallantly, and under terrible difficulties, the heat proving insupportable, while every vantage corner and natural eminence was already occupied by the Mexican sharpshooters. It was literally a defile of disaster; and while the French emerged triumphant, it cost them eight men, suffocated by the intense heat, one officer and three men killed, and thirty-three wounded, many of the latter subsequently succumbing on account of the terrible atmospheric conditions. And the net result proved absolutely barren. They had fought thus bravely in order to occupy the town of Ajutla, and when at length they entered it, they found it completely deserted.

In the meanwhile the Juarists were becoming more numerous and more daring. They now numbered at least 13,000; General Patoni (Governor of Durango) commanded 3000, General Ortega another 2500, General Negrete (Minister of War) commanded 4000, including a full park of artillery which had been obtained from the United States; while General La Garza (Governor of Tamaulipas) boasted of over 3500 well-equipped men. These troops among them secured the control of, and consequently the customs revenues from, the towns of Matamoras, formerly the capital of the State of Tamaulipas, and situated on the boundary-line of the United States; Mazatlán, one of the most important ports upon the Pacific; and Guaymas, the chief seaport of the State of Sonora.

But the French, with their superior discipline and splendid fighting material, continued to sweep the Mexicans before them, even though these latter returned to their positions almost before the last gleam of the French bayonets had disappeared from view. Notwithstanding the Governor of Durango's boasted bravery, the Liberals departed quickly enough from before the city of Durango, on 4th July, when it was occupied by General L'Hériller, without meeting with any resistance. Neither General Ortega with his 2500 nor Governor Patoni with his 3000 men felt inclined to face the cold steel of the Frenchmen, and disappeared at the earliest opportunity.

General de Castagny was, at this period, operating in the northern States, several small towns and villages being occupied quite uselessly since they were neither fortified nor garrisoned, and as a consequence, almost immediately after being vacated by the French they became again Liberal possessions. Similarly 'successful' and similarly valueless occupations ensued of Saltillo (the capital of the State of Coahuila) on 20th August, and of

MONSIGNOR PELAGIO ANTONIO DE LABASTIDA Y DAVALOS
Archbishop of Mexico

Monterey (the capital of Nuevo Leon) on 26th August. The inhabitants of both towns proved decidedly hostile to their 'saviours,' as the French insisted upon regarding themselves. But in Monterey they fortunately found a considerable amount of spoil in the form of fifty-five pieces of cannon of different calibre, 150,000 rounds of ammunition, and 150,000 bullets. This discovery, at least, proved that President Juarez was being well supplied with ammunition from some source not very far distant. The United States border is but two hundred and fifty miles from Monterey.

In the month of September the town of Matamoras was occupied by the French, without a shot having been fired. At this time the prospects of the Imperialists had seemed to have decidedly brightened. Benito Juarez, hard pressed, had crossed over the border into the United States territory, where he was permitted, notwithstanding the officially professed 'neutrality' of that Republic, to carry on his campaign in perfect freedom, escaping any imposition of disarmament. In the south-west, also, some Imperialistic victories were taking place. This wide district had hitherto been allowed to remain, almost unmolested, in the hands of the Liberals, under the command of General Uruaga, a gallant and courteous Mexican, who had travelled much in European countries. Although an ardent Republican, Uruaga, was not personally inimical to the French, for whose military prowess and social culture he entertained a high regard. It was he who had sent a polite communication, written in very good French, to General Bazaine, in April 1864, in which he observed: 'la monarchie perdrait le Mexique et coûterait cher à la France,' words which came to be very true.

The operations in the State of Jalísco had resulted in the French occupying the capital, Guadalajara, while in the month of November the neighbouring State of Colima had yielded up its capital of the same name. Colonel Clinchant won a smart victory at Jiquilpan on the 22nd of that month, while two or three days before General Marquez had taken possession of the town and port of Manzanillo, situated about sixty miles from the capital, Colima. Unfortunately, it was not found practicable to retain this port, when won; since orders had been received by Marshal Bazaine direct from France to the effect that Mazatlán was to be abandoned, it was deemed by him useless to retain the other Pacific port of Manzanillo. On the 14th December the port of Acapulco, the finest harbour on the west coast of Mexico—and, indeed, the second finest port of the world—was also abandoned.

Thus at the end of 1864, after a sojourn of twenty-four months in the country, the French intervention had resulted in the nominal winning over, by force, of a part only of Mexico to the Imperial cause. I say 'nominal' advisedly, for it was perfectly well recognised by every one, the French troops in particular, that immediately the latter were withdrawn the whole fabric of the monarchy—so laboriously but so unsubstantially constructed—would fall to pieces. But there still remained the task to overcome the resistance of the State of Michoacán; Juarez—who had come back after his last flight across the protected border of the United States—had also to be hunted once more out of Chihuahua; the ports of the Pacific had to be occupied again, and finally the town of Oaxaca, in which the gallant Porfirio Diaz was still holding out bravely, had to be subdued.

CHAPTER XVII

French forces in 1865—Relations between Maximilian and Bazaine—Emperor's bitter complaint—The 'Black Decree' (3rd October 1865)—Execution of General Arteaga—Napoleon decides to withdraw from Mexico—Admitted failure of French intervention—Bazaine's pessimism—Abandonment of Chihuahua—Disaster to French troops at Santa Isabel (1st March 1866)—Fall of Matamoras—Monterey evacuated—Saltillo and Durango surrendered.

By the month of April 1865 the imperial troops operating in Mexico under the command of Marshal Bazaine amounted to some 63,800 men, of whom over one-half were soldiers of the line. They included likewise 20,000 Mexicans, 8500 'rurales' (or mounted police), 6000 Austrian volunteers, and 1300 Belgian irregulars. The troops were very much dispersed, however, and Bazaine conceived the idea of concentrating them upon an entirely new plan, a determination which was entirely disapproved of by Maximilian.

Indeed the relations between the sovereign and the French commander-in-chief were becoming more and more strained, and a furious attack upon the French army, published simultaneously in the principal native journals supporting the monarchy, not unnaturally led to the belief that Maximilian was designedly seeking a quarrel with the Marshal with a view to his recall. The only immediate result, however, of this move was the arrest and punishment, by fine and imprisonment, of the offending journalists, proceedings which the emperor was compelled to countenance in order to avoid an open rupture with the commander-in-chief. The evil influences of Father Fischer, the Imperial Secretary, were to be traced in this unfortunate and unwise action as in so many others, for which Maximilian had been held to blame.

Maximilian was desirous of seeing General Douay, whose return from Europe (where he had been on a short vacation) was daily expected, placed in command *vice* Marshal Bazaine; the latter had recently become engaged to be married to Señorita de la Preña, a young Mexican lady of good birth, and closely connected with the president (Benito Juarez), through her mother. Maximilian encouraged this union, thinking that thereby the commander-in-chief might wish to take his newly-wedded wife abroad ; but in this he was again destined to be disappointed. The marriage took place on 26th June 1865, in the imperial chapel, and the emperor was not only present at the ceremony, but he had generously bestowed upon the young bride the charming residence, called a 'palace,' of Buena Vista, in which the commander-in-chief had resided since Maximilian had been in Mexico. It was stipulated in a formal deed which transferred this residence to the Marshal, that in the event of his leaving Mexico, the house should be repurchased by the State for the sum of $100,000. When, however, the monarchy fell, the Republican Government took possession, refusing any compensation to the absent Marshal or his wife.

Notwithstanding his outward display of courtesy and friendliness towards Marshal Bazaine, Maximilian continued to foster inimical sentiments towards him, and to disapprove of his methods of handling the French troops in Mexico. A letter of some length, written by the emperor on 18th July (dated from the Castle of Chapultepec) throws a strange light upon the relations existing between the sovereign and the commander-in-chief.

'I do not complain against the French as a whole' (writes Maximilian), 'I complain of those Frenchmen who serve their emperor but poorly, and still less conduce to the honour of their flag. I speak of those high functionaries who expend immense sums of money and shed the blood of Mexicans uselessly, who continually intrigue against me and defeat all my efforts to form a strong national army ; who insist upon sending the troops away from their posts without the permission or the approval of their sovereign, and in violation of the most solemn rights; who permit and encourage sacrilege and theft, and who by their general conduct are conducing to the entire demoralisation of the army. . . . If I do not complain more openly, if I fail to show my great displeasure, it is on account of my sincere regard for my great friend the Emperor Napoleon, and my deep respect for the great nation over which he rules. I submit to the gross injustice and humiliations such as I have never experienced in all my life, because of my love for my new country and of my friendship for France. I pretend to be deceived because of the future; but, as you know, I never deceive any one, and am not easily deceived by others; unfortunately, I have rather too good a memory, and I recollect too well the many promises which have been made to me, and the lies which have been told to me during the past fourteen months. Not one of these promises has been redeemed, and I repeat that the military position to-day is even worse than was the case last year, all of which I can prove by documentary evidence and from the reports which are made to me—reports which it is true do not reach me from those quarters from which they ought properly to come, but which are none the less authentic and reliable on that account.'

Things must have, indeed, drifted dangerously to have occasioned so bitter a lament as this from Maximilian, usually of so placid and easy-going a disposition.

The emperor and Marshal Bazaine eventually agreed upon a fresh organisation of the Mexican army, and it was arranged that two additional divisional commands should be established. San Luis Potósi was to be one, and Durango the other. Upon General Douay, who had now returned to Mexico from his trip to Europe, was conferred the command of the first division, while the second was entrusted to General de Castagny. Maximilian then desired that a third divisional command should be created and given to General L'Hériller; but to this, Marshal Bazaine was compelled to refuse his assent, on account of the great distance of the southern states (of which Michoacán was the principal) from his strategic base in the north. Nevertheless it was in the State of Michoacán that the Liberal forces were most powerful, being admirably organised in five brigades under General Regules and General Rivas Palacios, with General Arteaga in supreme command.

A sharp encounter occurred in this State, at a place called Tacambaro, on 14th April 1865, between the Belgian brigade, supported by some Mexican Imperial troops, and the Liberals, with the result that the Belgian troops obtained a complete victory, securing two hundred prisoners and leaving about fifty Liberal officers and men dead and wounded upon the field. Another engagement was fought on the 23rd, but this ended in the repulse of the Belgian troops serving under Colonel de Potier. Numerous further combats took place throughout the months of May, June, and July. In the last mentioned a second battle was fought at Tacambaro (11th July), when the Belgians secured a brilliant revenge against the Liberal troops, putting three hundred of General Arteaga's men *hors de combat*, and capturing six pieces of cannon, a complete park of artillery, six hundred rifles, and one hundred and sixty-five prisoners. This victory proved a serious blow to Arteaga, who was prevented from taking the field again for several weeks. The success achieved by the Belgian Legion, under Colonel de Potier, was particularly gratifying to the Empress Charlotte, who shortly afterwards sent for her gallant countryman in order to congratulate him upon his triumph.

In the following October (the 13th) was decided the well-contested struggle between General Arteaga (who had now recovered from his serious defeat above referred to) and Colonel Mendez, an Imperialist. This time the punishment inflicted upon the Liberal troops was even more severe ; Generals Arteaga and Salazar, ten staff officers, forty junior officers, and four hundred men fell into the hands of the triumphant Mendez. But a foul blot rested upon his victory.

It was but a few days before (the ever-memorable 3rd

GENERAL TOMÁS MÉJÌA
MAXIMILIAN'S MOST TRUSTED AND FAITHFUL OFFICER

GENERAL ROBLÈS
ONE OF THE FIRST MEXICANS TO DECLARE AND DIE FOR MAXIMILIAN

GENERAL LEONARDO MARQUEZ
MAXIMILIAN'S DISLOYAL CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE MEXICAN ARMY, AFTER THE DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE OF MARSHAL BAZAINE

October), that Maximilian had committed the worst blunder and most unpardonable act of his short but troublesome reign. I refer to the promulgation of the 'Black Decree,' the terms of which placed beyond the law all Mexicans who were found bearing arms against the monarchy, and who declined to lay them down.

Acting upon this barbarous measure, Colonel Mendez had shot in cold blood, and without the semblance of a trial, the two generals, Arteaga and Salazar, as well as three colonels, who had become his prisoners.

The ugly history of the five years' internecine Mexican war contains many sad and harrowing incidents, but few more touching in its simple pathos than the following letter from General Arteaga, written to his mother upon the eve of his death:

'URUAPAN, *October* 20, 1865.

'MY ADORED MOTHER,—I was taken prisoner on the 13th instant by the Imperial troops, and to-morrow I am to be shot. I pray you, Mama, to pardon me for all the suffering I have caused you during the time I have followed the profession of arms, against your will.

'Mama, in spite of all my efforts to aid you, the only means I had I sent you in April last; but God is with you, and He will not suffer you to perish, nor my sister Trinidad, *the little Yankee.*

'I have not told you before of the death of my brother Luis, because I feared you would die of grief; he died at Tuxpan, in the State of Jalísco, about the 1st of January last.

'Mama, I leave nothing but a spotless name, for I have never taken anything that did not belong to me; and I trust God will pardon all my sins and take me into His glory.

'I die a Christian, and bid you all adieu—you, Dolóres, and all the family, as your very obedient son,

'JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

'Doña Apolonia Magallanes de Arteaga, Aguas Calientes.'

This composition recalls to mind a similarly touching valedictory epistle sent by a drummer boy to his fond and only parent, upon the night before his execution by the instructions of Wellington—a sentence passed as a punishment after being caught inditing a letter to his mother subsequent to the order of 'lights out.'

For whatever reprisals which followed, and they proved to be many in number and horrible in detail, the Liberals could plead good cause and excuse. In fact, some among the Liberal leaders showed remarkable forbearance by not taking any immediate revenge.

General Regules, for instance, who had been the intimate friend and brother-in-arms of General Arteaga, could have shot a number of Imperialist officers who had fallen into his hands; but he was far too gallant a soldier to wreak his revenge upon innocent heads. Nevertheless, in order to show their disgust for Maximilian, through whose terrible decree the above-named atrocities had been perpetrated, the Liberal chiefs refused to hold any further direct communication with the Imperial staff. The interchange of prisoners was thereafter arranged through the medium of the French officers, who felt fully as indignant with the author of the 'Black Decree,' as did the Mexicans.

During the remainder of the year 1865 operations continued, but without any definite results accruing either to the Imperialists or to the Liberals; the Austrian Legion were in the State of Oaxaca, General Brincourt was in Chihuahua, Colonel Garnier was struggling ineffectually against superior numbers in Sonora, while General Méjìa, in Tamaulipas, was confronted by an enemy continually protected and occasionally assisted by United States officials, in spite of the repeatedly expressed neutrality of the North American Government. Méjìa had no more than three thousand five hundred men, and he found it impossible to make any effective movement in a territory which comprised the whole of Matamoras, Tampico, and Monterey. Against him was operating the resourceful Liberal chief, General Escobedo, to whom was rendered valuable aid in many ways by General Weitzel, of the United States army, who commanded on the border, and to whom urgent protests were addressed, quite unavailingly, by both General Méjìa and Captain Cloué, who was in command of the French Gulf squadron.

Finding that his denials of having rendered assistance to the Liberals were ineffectual in satisfying the Imperialist officers, General Weitzel lost his temper and addressed to Captain Cloué a letter, 17th November 1865, which read: 'He (General Méjìa) and I have already had more correspondence than was pleasant to me. I do not wish to write letters. It is not my profession, and I was not sent here by my government to write letters. I would, therefore, again repeat that either you or General Méjìa alone take charge of all correspondence with me.'

General Sheridan, commanding the district of New Orleans, proceeded to the extremity of sending a menacing and insulting telegram to General Méjìa, which the latter, however, refused to accept. Nevertheless he was fearful of leaving his position at Matamoras on account of the probability of it being rushed and captured by American filibusters.

The opening of the year 1866 witnessed the first practical demonstration of Napoleon having tired of the Mexican expedition, and of his determination to withdraw as soon as possible from a situation which was proving as costly as it was ludicrous. Although the inspired French journals continued to write of the enterprise as 'la plus glorieuse de son règne,' the general public were equally weary of the strain upon the country's resources, and of the absolutely negative results of the campaign after four years' conduct. It was, therefore, decided to withdraw the French troops from Mexico in three detachments—the first to depart in the month of November of 1866, the second in March of 1867, the third in November of the same year. But events transpired which precipitated the abandonment of the Mexican empire before the latest date mentioned, and as a consequence, by the month of June of 1867, the whole fabric, built upon the shallow egotism and rank bad faith of Napoleon III., had crumbled to ashes amid the blood and the tears of his innumerable victims.

The French arms had encountered at Leipzig stubborn resistance and little glory; at Moscow a brave and self-sacrificing enemy and less glory; in Spain they had found an united and persistent foe, and again no glory; at Waterloo they had met the British—and defeat. In Mexico, hoping to easily crush within a few months a weak, exhausted, and disunited nation, they had been faced by an unyielding and resourceful people, whose methods of warfare were as difficult to counter as their loyalty to a shadowy government was difficult to understand.

And at the end of four years, what had been accomplished either for Mexico or for themselves? What had been done with the many millions of good French money, beyond securing an immeasurable amount of profitless slaughter and the making of many hundreds of maimed and fever-stricken victims? Had these French interlopers advanced in any way the happiness of the people in whose governmental affairs they had so unwarrantably and aggressively interfered? Had they established any new principle, struck any fresh path of progress of national prosperity? Had they healed any old wounds, created any new and abiding friendships, established any confidence in themselves as a civilising influence—in a word, had they in any shape or form advanced by one solitary act or measure the lofty motive put forward by their emperor in his famous letter addressed to General de Lorencez, in September of 1862, the then commander-in-chief of the French troops operating in Mexico? In this despatch the French emperor had declared: 'It is contrary to my interest, my origin, and my principle to impose any kind of government whatever on the Mexican people; they may freely choose that which suits them best.' And he had expended so far 274,698,000 francs, and sacrificed over four thousand French lives to allow the Mexicans 'to freely choose' their own form of government! Could the enormity of hypocrisy have proceeded further?

It was once said by General Ulysses Grant that the war made by the United States against Mexico 1846-8, as a consequence of which the latter lost nearly one-third of her territory, was 'the most unjust and wickedest war ever waged by a strong nation against a weak one.' What judgment did the hero of Vicksburg and the commander-in-chief of the American army of the Potomac pass upon Napoleon's campaign against the same harassed and distraught country ?

It having been determined to gradually withdraw the French troops from Mexico, it became necessary for Maximilian to form forthwith a sufficiently strong and well-organised army of his own, composed of Mexicans loyal to the empire and Belgian and Austrian volunteers. To bring about this reorganisation, the emperor was bound, though much against his will, to solicit the co-operation of Marshal Bazaine. The latter at once offered his services, and would doubtless have carried out his plans with some success, but for the numerous obstacles which confronted him—the scarcely veiled suspicion and barely suppressed hostility of the sovereign, the open defiance of the Belgian, Austrian, and Mexican subordinate officers, and the entire insufficiency of funds. No man, however willing, however capable and however earnest could hope to make headway against such a combination of adverse factors as were here presented. And Marshal Bazaine was compelled to admit a failure.

However, he endeavoured to establish some semblance of orderliness and discipline among the mixed companies which he was asked and expected to mould into an effective and homogeneous army. He proposed the creation of several battalions of *cazadores*, foot-soldiers who may be compared with the French *chasseurs à pied*; two such battalions were formed, known as the '7th' and '8th' companies of the Foreign Legion. At first they were paid out of the French budget, the amount being debited to the account of the Mexican Government, as had been all sums expended for a similar purpose and a very great many others which had served no Mexican purpose at all.

At the commencement of the year 1866, the native

Mexican (Imperialist) army comprised—besides the two battalions of *cazadores* above referred to—a considerable and well-equipped body of artillery, 35,650 foot and horse soldiers, with 11,073 horses. The Belgian Legion numbered 1324 and the Austrian 6535 men, and these possessed 1409 horses between them. Thus Maximilian could count upon an effective force of over 43,500 men and 12,400 horses, while, as mentioned previously, the entire Liberal strength did not exceed 60,000 men and 14,000 horses.

Under efficient French command and working loyally together, such a force as Maximilian could count upon ought to have at least held the monarchy together; but with the elements of obstruction, ill will and mutual mistrust which were prevalent among the officers and the rank and file alike, the handling of this large but unwieldy body of men became impossible.

The city of Chihuahua was abandoned by the French troops on 31st January (1866), it is said by express instructions from the French Government in order that a considerable force of French troops might at once be released. General Billot was in command, and, therefore, had no option but to obey; but the senselessness of the order issued, after the expenditure of treasure and human lives in occupying the town, was apparent. A small Mexican garrison, composed of some five hundred men, had been left to guard the town, and on the 25th March it was attacked by General Luis Terrazas. He secured an easy victory, since one-half of the garrison was defeated at once, and the Imperialist commander then abandoned the position. Chihuahua, thus recaptured, proved the first of many towns which were conquered by or surrendered to the Liberal army during the ensuing months. The fortunes of war swayed first towards the one side and then towards the other; but the heart of the French soldiers was no longer in their work, for it had become known that the troops were to be withdrawn as soon as possible, and they knew that henceforth their efforts to secure a stable foundation for the Mexican empire, which they had been repeatedly told by their emperor and by his ministers was all 'for the glory of France,' must prove ineffective.

A severe disaster had attended the French arms at Santa Isabel, where, on 1st March, an entire Franco-Mexican column under General de Brian was cut to pieces. On the 15th of the following June another fierce engagement was fought at Camargo, when the losses of the Imperialist troops included 251 Mexicans and 145 Austrians killed, 121 Mexicans and 45 Austrians wounded, and 858 Mexicans and 143 Austrians taken prisoners. The Liberals emerged less disastrously, their losses comprising 155 killed and 78 wounded. Among the few who came triumphantly out of this battle were found a number of North American filibusters.

On the 23rd of the same month General Méjìa, who had not more than 300 men all told, was compelled to capitulate at Matamoras to General Mariano Escobedo, who permitted him to retire with all his baggage and arms, excepting 43 pieces of cannon. For this act of clemency Escobedo was soundly rated by President Juarez, and narrowly escaped a court-martial. The hatred borne by Juarez for Méjìa was intense; upon no occasion did he ever show him the barest courtesy or consideration, and yet Méjìa was the only Mexican general known to history who died faithful to his party.

The fall of Matamoras proved a severe blow to the Imperial cause. On the other hand, taken in conjunction with several previous successes, it gave heart to the Liberals who became more and more united, and daily more formidable opponents of the monarchical régime.

Marshal Bazaine had transferred his headquarters to San Luis Potósi, in order to be better enabled to control the protection of the French columns operating in that district. In July (26th) he decided upon the evacuation of Monterey, while Saltillo was abandoned on the 5th August. As a set-off against these surrenders the French troops (Chasseurs d'Afrique), under Colonel du Preil, surprised and inflicted a severe defeat upon a number of Liberals at Noria de Custodio on 8th August, leaving eighty-five men dead upon the field, the remainder being dispersed in disorder after abandoning their horses. Then followed a concentrated movement by the Liberal troops upon the town of Durango, one of the best fortified and best defended cities still loyal to the Imperialists. It was an undertaking upon which the Juarist troops entered with some hesitation and considerable doubt as to the results; first they occupied all the surrounding positions, which gave them considerable advantage. They were, moreover, materially assisted by the Indian guerrillas who, to the number of some five thousand, haunted the neighbourhood, committing irritating assaults upon the French troops whenever occasion offered, and finally cutting their communications between Durango and Fresnille. Durango was defended by Colonel Cottret, who had been given command when General de Castagny left (5th August),changing his headquarters to Leon. Colonel Cottret, with the last of the French troops, withdrew from the town on 13th November, and four days afterwards the Liberals once more entered upon possession, their first act being to impose upon the inhabitants a fine of $200,000 as a punishment ‘ for having harboured the French.’

GENERAL JOSÉ MARIANO SALAS
One of the three Regents of Mexico who governed pending the arrival of Maximilian and Charlotte

CHAPTER XVIII

Financial complications increase—M. Corta's visit to Mexico—M. Rouher confirms misleading statements—French subscriptions to loans—Bad finance—Appointments of M. Friant and General Osmont—Napoleon's anger—Convention of July 1866—Maximilian's ignorance of finance—Condition of treasury—Marshal Bazaine's timely assistance—Desperate position of Imperial ministers—Almonte's mission to France fails—Charlotte offers her services—Visit to Europe decided upon—Lack of necessary funds.

In the meanwhile the finances of the young empire were going steadily from bad to worse. In order to comprehend the position which had now to be faced, it is necessary to glance backward to the course of events immediately preceding the arrival of Maximilian in Mexico.

In the early months of 1864 the French Minister of Finance had despatched a special envoy to Mexico to study the situation, and to find out the best arrangement that could be made to lighten the difficult position of the Imperial treasury. The selection fell upon M. Corta, a Deputy of the Legislative Body, and his instructions caused the preparation of a definite plan for the settlement of the indemnities claimed by French creditors, an amicable agreement respecting the Jecker bonds, and provision for taxing the future revenues of the Imperial Government.

After a sojourn of several weeks in Mexico, M. Corta returned to Paris, 'dazzled,' as he declared, 'by the brilliancy of the prospects which that country afforded to investors.' He proposed the issue of a loan in Paris, notwithstanding the low current quotations prevailing on the Bourse for the previous Mexican emission. Addressing the Legislative Chamber at a later date (9th and 10th April 1865), M. Corta drew a glowing picture of the riches of

Mexico, and the marvellous future that attended the commerce, industry, and agriculture of that country. 'Under the wise and prudent government of the Emperor Maximilian,' he averred, 'the whole future of that rich and productive land is assured.' This enthusiastic view was supported in every way by M. Rouher, Minister of State, in the course of a very pompous speech, who added accounts, mostly inaccurate and conjured from his own fertile imagination, of fabulously rich iron mines, petroleum wells, and other sources of wealth as yet unexploited. He promised to all subscribers to the loan the full *moral* guarantee of the French Government, concluding his oration with the declaration: 'Our object *must* be attained, the pacification of the country *must* be complete, and the army of France *must* not return to these shores until its work has been successfully accomplished, and all opposition to its achievements has been definitely removed.'

A few days later the second Mexican loan was floated in Paris; it was fathered by a strong syndicate formed among thirty-five well-known bankers, and no fewer than two hundred subsidiary financial houses. The result, as might have been anticipated, was an over-subscription, and in less than three days the lists were closed, and the scrip was quoted on the Bourse at a substantial premium. The accumulated savings of the thrifty French investors were again entirely swallowed up in this new bottomless pit, wherein the political prestige and the military reputation of France were already finding a dishonoured grave.

The most pressing needs of the Mexican Imperial treasury were thus temporarily satisfied; but when the heavy expenses and colossal commissions payable to the bankers and their friends had been deducted from the proceeds of the loan, there remained for the Mexican Government but fifty millions of francs out of the original one hundred and seventy millions. The prime mover in this gigantic swindle was again the Duc de Morny, President of the Council, and who it will be remembered had been the principal agent in the notorious Jecker bonds issue.

It is not difficult to understand how, with such methods of financing, the position of the already greatly-impoverished country was rendered worse instead of better, and that it was gradually but surely being propelled over the brink into national bankruptcy. It was in vain that M. Bonnefons, a distinguished French economist, was also sent out to Mexico in February 1865, to put the finances upon a sounder and firmer basis; his utmost efforts, as had been those of the staff of French clerks despatched at the time of Maximilian's first arrival in the country, proved wholly unavailing, and things continued to drift. The demands made by the rapacious French Government, and their parasites the Parisian bankers, were crushing the young monarchy, and although Maximilian was compelled against his better judgment to consent to the exacting and extortionate terms of these harpies, the country itself was quite unable to yield one tithe of the revenue necessary to meet the interest as it fell due. How much less could any portion of the principal repayment be found! M. Bonnefons, having fallen ill, was replaced by M. Langlais, a Councillor of State; but he also succumbed to the deadly climate of Mexico, and died after a short illness. At the end of 1865 the finances of the monarchy were at their lowest ebb.

The annual expenditure to which Maximilian, without a thought as to how the funds to meet it were to be provided, had committed himself, amounted to over $36,000,000 (*pésos*). This immense disbursement may be analysed as follows:

International (mainly French) obligations	$12,781,000
Interest upon the Home Debt	1,200,000
Maximilian's Privy Purse	1,500,000
Empress's Privy Purse	100,000
Expenses of the Imperial Household	100,000
Clergy and Public Worship	5,000,000
Army, allowing for 40,000 men with the same pay as the French	8,000,000
Civil List, including pensions, rewards, annuities, secret service fund, etc. etc.	8,000,000
Total	$36,681,000

Had this enormous revenue been realisable, it would have entailed a *per capita* impost of over $7.00 upon the 5,000,000 nominal partisans of the empire. Under no possible conditions, however, could the revenue have exceeded $16,000,000 (and, indeed, it failed even to reach this amount during the last year-and-a-half of the existence of the monarchy), so that the deficit would have been no less than $24,000,000 under the most favourable circumstances. Writing upon the subject of Mexican finance in *La Accion* (a Saltillo newspaper), of 18th June 1864, a prominent journalist, Señor Francisco Zarco, said: ‘The empire of the Austrian begins with a deficiency of 24,680,000 *pésos*; therefore it is born weakly, sickly, and paralytic. It cannot live without continuous loans, which are impossible. . . . Such is the condition of the question of finance in the new empire.’

Maximilian could act shrewdly upon occasions, and he gave evidence of possessing no small amount of shrewdness when he invited two of Napoleon's officers—General Osmont and M. Friant, both of whom had distinguished themselves as members of the expeditionary corps—to enter his cabinet, the former as his Minister of War, and the latter as his Minister of Finance. The emperor no doubt imagined that with these French officers acting as his advisers, Napoleon would hardly feel inclined to withdraw his troops as early as he had threatened; but Maximilian failed to allow for the equal shrewdness of his ‘dear friend’ Napoleon. No sooner did the latter receive intelligence of the said appointments than he forbade the new ministers to retain their portfolios, and caused a severe reprimand to be published concerning their acceptance in the pages of the official *Moniteur*. Marshal Bazaine was at the same time ordered to secure the cancellation of the appointments.

Maximilian nevertheless profited by the brief tenure of office by these two complaisant ministers to bring to a conclusion the arrangements already commenced for a new treaty, drawn up in accordance with the note of 31st May 1866. By the terms of this note, the Mexican Government agreed to make fresh arrangements for the payment of interest at the rate of three per cent. upon the two Mexican loans which had been raised in France. The deed—known as 'The Convention of 30th July 1866'—was signed by Maximilian four days after General Osmont became Minister of War and M. Friant had entered upon his duties as Minister of Finance. But the treaty had yet to be signed by Napoleon, and the latter had for some time past arrived at the conclusion that not only must no more money be loaned by France to Mexico, but that all efforts must be limited to securing the repayment of the sums already advanced.

In order to minimise expenditure upon the household as closely as possible, Maximilian had insisted upon quitting the palace at Chapultepec, his favourite residence, situated within easy reach of his capital (about three miles); he then took up his abode in the small Hacienda de La Téja, a very modest country cottage, such as any modern well-to-do Mexican tradesman would to-day consider beneath his notice. The hacienda was situated a few miles from Mexico City, upon the spot where some of the French troops (Chasseurs d'Afrique) had encamped the day before they had entered the capital.

Even the receipts of the customs house at Vera Cruz, or such portion as had escaped the ravening hands of the numerous dishonest officials who controlled them, Mexican and French alike, had latterly been unobtainable. On 21st November 1866, Maximilian found it necessary to address a protest concerning this matter to Bazaine, in which he stated: 'I now inform you that M. —— threatens to prevent by force the collection of duties carried on at the customs house. I hope that you will put a stop to this illegal step.' The only satisfaction vouchsafed by the marshal was an assurance that the emperor's complaint would be referred to the French Inspector of Finance (one of the Emperor Napoleon's most odious creatures, distinguished as always inimical to the Imperial cause), who, having received explicit instructions regarding his attitude from the French Minister of Finance at Paris, was little likely to heed any protest from Maximilian. And no attention was paid.

Early in January of the following year Maximilian had invited Bazaine to visit him at La Téja, so that they might have 'a friendly and informal chat upon the situation,' the emperor hoping, no doubt, to induce the marshal to authorise yet further advances to the treasury by the French Inspector of Finance.

Even had Bazaine possessed the influence, which was certainly not the case, to instruct the French Inspector to this effect, he would have refrained from exerting it in face of the direct and unmistakable instructions to the contrary which he had received from the French emperor at Paris. Already, as we have seen, he had broken through these restrictions upon two occasions, only to be severely reprimanded by his always dissatisfied imperial master; to repeat the offence of countenancing further donations to the Mexican Treasury would have been to invite his own complete undoing. Therefore, the 'chat' proved unfruitful.

Among the many false statements which had induced Maximilian to reconsider, for the twentieth time, his decision to abdicate, was one covering an assurance upon the part of the members of the Junta (Council) that a sufficiency of funds could be depended upon, irrespective of French grants. It was obviously to the interest of his ministers, who were drawing salaries of considerable dimensions though all other payments from the Treasury were in arrears, that the emperor should not resign, and thus bring the monarchy abruptly to an end. The Junta had informed Maximilian that 'the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Finance possessed the one 250,000 *pésos* in cash, the other 11,000,000 *pésos*, of which 8,000,000 were at his immediate disposal.' There was no foundation whatever for this optimistic assertion, which nevertheless weighed with Maximilian, who, in consequence, withdrew the deed of abdication which he was on the point of signing and handing to Marshal Bazaine for transmission to France.

In view of this fresh exhibition of obduracy, which completely defeated Napoleon's newly-formed policy, namely that of abandonment of the throne by Maximilian, fresh pressure was brought to bear upon the Mexican Government, instructions being sent to the French officials who were in charge of the customs revenues at Vera Cruz, to retain every *centavo* which was collected for the purpose of repaying to the French treasury something of its heavy advances, and not to allow any part of the receipts to reach Maximilian's empty coffers.

The final, and perhaps most unworthy, deed of all was the action of the French commissaries upon leaving the country. Notwithstanding the notorious poverty of the Imperial Government, a poverty which alone prevented it from meeting its financial obligations incurred to Napoleon, these officials demanded payment for the wagons, vehicles, military clothing, and some guns (all of which had been found too cumbersome and valueless to take back to France), threatening to destroy these effects rather than leave them in the hands of the Imperialist forces.

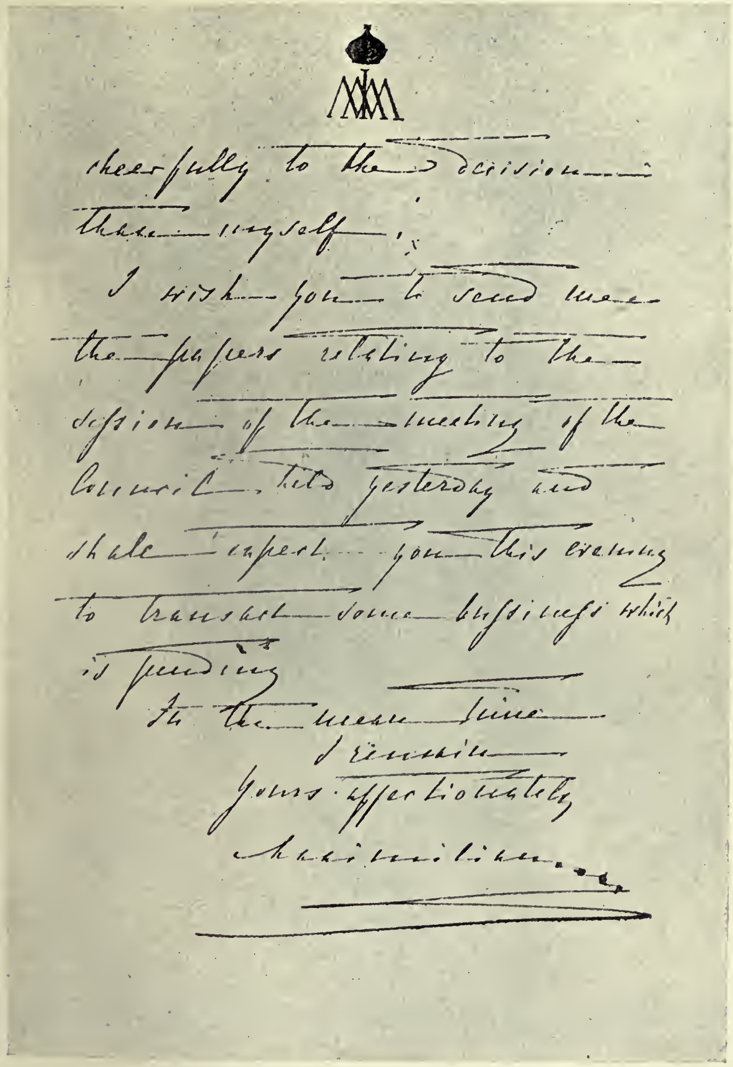
Let it be remembered that at this time many of Maximilian's troops were literally in rags, and some few almost naked, their uniforms having fallen to pieces from lack of repair or replacement. Nevertheless the French Inspector of Finance refused to allow any of the abundant surplus supplies of French uniforms to be drawn upon, and preferred to destroy them in the absence of the utmost value being received in cash. Towards the end sufficient funds were scraped together to purchase the clothing, but the rest of the supplies were destroyed as had been threatened.

It is related by some historians that by demolishing their heavy projectiles, both hollow and solid, the French committed no great act of wastefulness, nor did this act show any lack of generosity towards the Mexicans, since the ammunition was useless to the latter, whose smooth-bore cannon could not be loaded with the rifled shot. This may well be so; but the same excuse does not apply to the reckless destruction of powder belonging to the expeditionary corps, and which General de Castlenau ordered to be thrown into the river Sequia rather than leave it in the possession of the Mexicans.

On the other hand there can be no question that Marshal Bazaine, upon his arrival at Vera Cruz, *en route* for France (February 1867), made over to Maximilian's representative a considerable store of cartridges, one hundred muskets, and about thirty-three hundredweight of powder, all of which had been unloaded from the French fleet which was about to sail. The same thoughtfulness upon the part of Bazaine had induced him to pass as a final order the completion of the port's fortifications—and he himself inspected the work during its progress—so that Maximilian, should he eventually carry out a retreat to Vera Cruz, would be sure of a safe asylum until he could quit the distressful country for good.

Maximilian devoted much time and patience to attempting to understand the complicated Mexican system of local taxation, and to improve it. In this matter he was entirely dependent for both information and administrative assistance upon the honesty and the goodwill of Mexican officials; and he found neither. His own limited acquaintance with the properties of numbers or even the rudiments of the science of arithmetic, gifted and well educated though he was, prevented him from exercising even the smallest control over the situation. Nevertheless he plodded persistently and patiently through the numerous *dossiers* of municipal and federal taxes, customs, house dues, loans, railroad grants, telegraph expenditure and revenues, public works, the postal service, the unity of weights and measures, the control of public funds and other complex subjects. The most valuable assistance which was rendered to him in his studies emanated from his clever wife, for Charlotte was a skilled mathematician, and her own accounts were wonders of correctness and orderly arrangement.

Of the two loans which had been floated in Europe for the establishment of the Mexican empire, and which exceeded a total of 500,000,000 francs (£20,000,000 sterling), the emperor's government received no more than 60,000,000



cheerfully to the decision
than myself;

I wish you to send me
the papers relating to the
decision of the meeting of the
Council held yesterday and
shall expect you this evening
to transact some business which
is pending

In the mean time
I remain
Yours affectionately
Maximilian

SPECIMEN OF MAXIMILIAN'S CALIGRAPHY
PART OF A LETTER IN ENGLISH ADDRESSED TO FATHER FISCHER,
THE IMPERIAL SECRETARY

francs (£2,400,000); nevertheless it was called upon to defray the interest upon the entire capital sum. It is scarcely surprising that, even to this day, the Mexican Government refuses to recognise the French claims, notwithstanding the repeated efforts, over a period of fifty years, which have been made to secure some kind of a settlement through the medium of the still existent 'Committee of Protection of Mexican Bondholders.'

At the end of 1865 the Mexican Treasury had been in a very poor condition, an enormous deficit being the inevitable consequence of the unskilful administration of the government's financial department. No attempt was undertaken to make the amount of expenditure balance the revenue; at this period the disbursements amounted to 150,000,000 *pésos*, irrespective of the demands of the sinking fund as against an income from all sources of less than 90,000,000 *pésos*. While urgent demands for the payment of overdue salaries, interest upon loans and current indebtedness were ignored, huge sums were freely devoted to the embellishment of the capital, remodelling and refurnishing the castle of Chapultepec for the Imperial occupation, and upon other superfluous and wholly unproductive purposes.

By the beginning of 1866 the financial situation had become acute, and Maximilian could no longer afford to shelve its consideration. The treasury was completely empty, and the credit of the government's various departments considerably overdrawn. The army pay was gravely in arrears, even the French officers being without their pay for over two months. The Mexican troops sought to recoup themselves by committing thefts and undertaking concerted marauding expeditions throughout the country: it was apparently impossible to restrain them, no matter how severe the punishment inflicted.

At this time Marshal Bazaine, realising the danger arising from such proceedings, and feeling assured that when the men received at least 'something on account' they would not continue their plundering and spoliation, induced the French Paymaster-General to advance a sum of 5,000,000 *pésos*, to be devoted to the payment of the Imperialists. For this act Maximilian expressed his thanks in a short but charming letter which he addressed to the Marshal from the palace at Mexico, 6th February 1866:

'My dear Marshal,' the note ran, 'I have just learnt of the valuable service which you have rendered to my government by coming to its help at the time of a difficult financial crisis. Be pleased to receive my most sincere thanks for the discretion and kindness which you have exercised in this delicate matter, which to me doubles the value of the service.—Your very affectionate Maximilian.'

Among several touching documents existing among the voluminous archives connected with the French intervention in Mexico, there was a letter addressed to Marshal Bazaine by Señor J. M. A. de Lacunza, the President of the Council of Ministers, one of the few honourable and devoted men among Maximilian's advisers. The communication, a somewhat lengthy one, and bearing date 28th April 1866, draws a heartrending account of the conditions of the country on account of its financial embarrassment, begging—nay supplicating—for prompt and effective assistance. Before a man of Señor de Lacunza's high integrity could have brought himself to pen such a distressingly humiliating appeal to a foreigner, and that foreigner an 'invader,' the situation must have become, indeed, a severe one. He demanded a monthly contribution from the French treasury of 5,000,000 francs; but the Inspector of Finance (M. de Maintenant), an austere and unfriendly man, well calculated to render his master the Emperor Napoleon still more unpopular in Mexico, refused the request point blank, and he was supported in this denial by the French Minister, M. Dano, as well as—more reluctantly, perhaps,—by the commander-in-chief. In the end, one-half of the sum was grudgingly advanced, but it proved of little value in stemming the fast-oncoming tide of financial disaster.

By now the whole of the 60,000,000 francs (out of the proceeds of the second French loan which had been received by the Imperial government had been expended, in addition to another 8,000,000 francs which Maximilian had brought with him as his private fortune when he first entered the country. Nevertheless it was at this time especially that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de l'Huys, considered it advisable to 'dun' the Mexican Government for overdue interest and part repayment of principal. Veiled threats were indulged in regarding the consequences of non-compliance, but they proved of no effect. The resources of the Mexican administration, like those of its imperial head, were completely exhausted.

Matters reached a crisis when, in June 1866, Maximilian received through the hands of General Almonte, his special ambassador despatched to Paris, a peremptory and almost insolent reply to his letter addressed to Napoleon. This was written at his dictation in the third person, positively refusing to advance, or to permit to be advanced, to the Mexican Government any further sums of money, and intimating that, in neglecting to repay what had already been furnished, 'Maximilian had acted dishonourably.' This lengthy and offensive communication concluded with the staggering announcement that the French emperor had now determined to withdraw his troops altogether from Mexico, having come to the sudden conclusion that 'prolonged foreign protection is a bad school, and a source of perils: in domestic matters it habituates people not to reckon on themselves, and paralyses the national activity.'

The studied insolence of the whole letter, confirming the designed betrayal of the Emperor Maximilian and his cause, was characteristic of Napoleon III., assuredly one of the most perfidious, as he was one of the most unmindful, rulers who ever occupied a throne.

Charlotte had abstained for some months from taking any share, direct or indirect, in the political situation, confining her work—and she was always busily engaged—to deeds of charity and acts of mercy. But when she perceived that the throne, which had been accepted under promises of ample support upon the part of France, was in imminent danger, she formed the idea of performing a pilgrimage to Europe to save it from collapse. Maximilian at first demurred, viewing with alarm this delicately-nurtured woman travelling during the worst months of the year through the fever-stricken *tierras calientes*, and having to meet in, as he believed, unequal contention, the dishonesty of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the fickle assurances of Napoleon III. All opposition, however, was overcome. Maximilian was no match for his clever, determined wife when she had arrived at a definite line of action. On 8th July Charlotte's preparations were complete, and the following day she left Mexico City upon her return to Europe.

The one essential lacking was sufficient funds. Both Maximilian and Charlotte had by now exhausted their own private fortunes in maintaining the full state which they considered necessary in the capital; Marshal Bazaine and the Minister of Finance suggested that the empress should pawn her jewellery; but this Maximilian would not allow, neither was Charlotte willing. The only other means available was to annex a sum of $30,000 from the fund known as the 'Inundation Tax,' which had been instituted for regular works intended to preserve Mexico City from inundations.

It was at first decided to keep secret the fact that the empress was leaving Mexico; but with so many busy tongues and inquisitive eyes surrounding her, this was found to be impossible. The *Official Gazette*, of 7th July 1866, therefore, was instructed to publish a paragraph reading: 'The Empress is proceeding at once to Europe, charged with a special mission relating to the affairs of Mexico.'

Both the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Marshal Bazaine had been kept in ignorance of this event, and the notice which appeared in the government organ proved the first intimation to reach them. The marshal at that time was at San Luis de la Paz. One of his officers in Mexico City had telegraphed to him there the news which had been published by the *Official Gazette.* Bazaine at once sent to him instructions, by secret code, to make the French Government acquainted with the information through the medium of the commander of the French squadron at Vera Cruz. It was only on the day following Charlotte's departure that the emperor consented to receive the French Minister M. Dano, in order to acquaint him officially with the news. Thus it happened that Charlotte was enabled to arrive at Saint Nazaire on 10th August, almost as soon as the official note announcing her departure from Mexico had been received at Paris.

CHAPTER XIX

Charlotte departs for Europe—Incidents of journey—Strange conduct causes comment and alarm—Reception at Vera Cruz—Scene upon embarking—Ignorance in France respecting Empress's movements—Arrival at Paris—Public excitement—Napoleon's discomfiture—Journey to Saint Cloud—Strong language used—Stormy interview—Charlotte upbraids Napoleon for his betrayal—Coldness of the Empress Eugénie—Napoleon refuses further assistance—Charlotte's despair—Departure from Saint Cloud.

SHORTLY before daybreak on the morning of the 9th of July 1866, Charlotte quitted Mexico City for Europe. Her travelling companions were Señor Martin Castillo (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Count del Valle (Grand Chamberlain), the Marques Neri del Barrio (one of the Junior Chamberlains), Marquesa del Barrio and Señora Manuella Gutierrez de Estrada (Ladies-in-Waiting), Count de Bombelles (Commandant of the Guardia Palatina), Señor Kulachevich (Imperial Treasurer), Señora Kulachevich (Lady of the Bedchamber), Dr. Bouslaveck (physician), and Señor José Luis Blasio, who, acting as private secretary to the empress, subsequently returned to Mexico in order to occupy a similar post in the Cabinet of Maximilian. Two Spanish and two Austrian serving-women were also of the party. Maximilian accompanied the empress as far as the town of Ayotla, about two kilometres from Mexico City, where they parted from each other with great emotion, destined—though they knew it not—never to meet again.

The first portion of the journey terminated at Puebla, 208 kilometres from the capital, where, notwithstanding the late hour of arrival, the empress was made the recipient of a fervid reception upon the part of the people. In spite of the cold attitude adopted by the clergy towards the imperial couple, many of the people broke through the restrictions imposed upon them by the priests, who ruled Puebla with a rod of iron, and offered an affectionate greeting to the young empress, who had always been the object of their admiration and regard. Señor Esteva, prefect of the town, placed his fine house at her disposal, but his offer was somewhat rudely declined. It was upon this occasion that the mental weakening of Charlotte was first observed.

The prefect, who had come to meet the empress and to place himself at her orders, was at a complete loss to understand the meaning of his hostile reception. From Mexico City had also arrived the Marquesa de Guadaloupe and her companion the Condesa del Aguilar. To both of these ladies Charlotte appeared to be more graciously inclined, for she accepted the offer of the former to pass the night at her house.

Arrived there, however, Charlotte insisted upon being immediately shown to her room and left alone, refusing to take any refreshment or to allow any one to attend upon her but her own servant Mathilde. Towards midnight, when the family were about to retire, the empress suddenly determined to pay a visit to the prefect, the Señor Esteva whom she had so unnecessarily slighted, and nothing could induce her to postpone her journey until the following day.

Her sudden resolution appeared to have been the outcome of a wild kind of dream through which she had just passed, and the details of which, although related with much circumstance to her attendants, failed to make themselves clear to their more ordered minds.

The midnight visit was paid in company of the Marquesa de Guadeloupe, but it led to nothing except the idle chatter of the gossips, and to further scandalous reports promoted and amplified by the priests of Puebla.

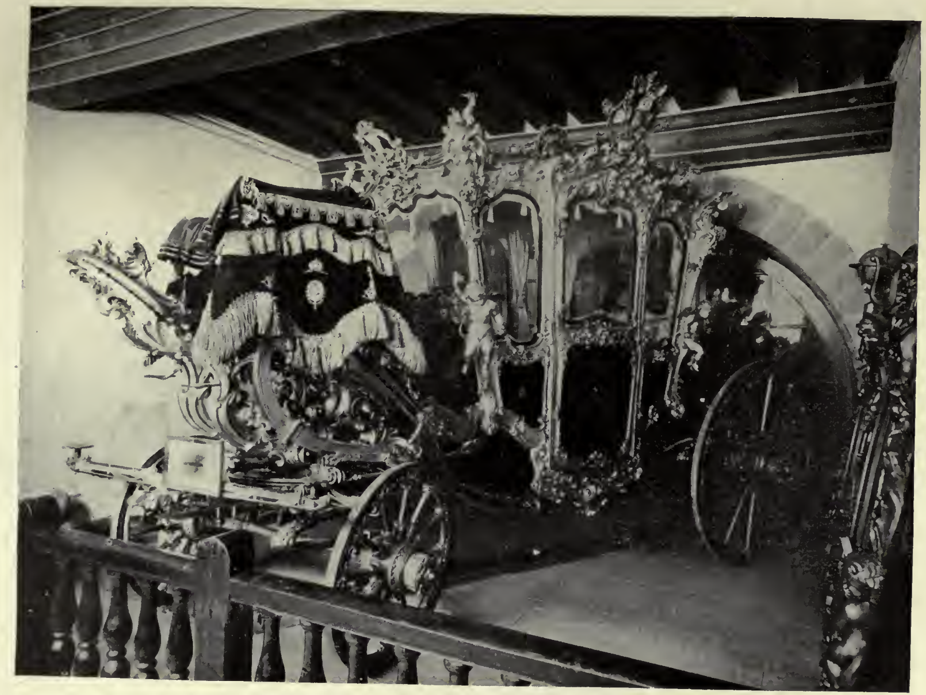
Utterly exhausted, the empress returned to her hostess's house in the early hours of the morning and was finally soothed into a heavy sleep. The same day she continued her journey without making any further reference to the night incident; she was accompanied for part of the way to Orizaba by the prefect, and her kindly hostess the marquesa. Her whole conduct had appeared most extraordinary to her courteous hostess, who, however, humoured her whim for occupying an inferior suite of rooms when more luxuriously furnished apartments had been hastily prepared for her reception. While the empress's strange behaviour attracted considerable comment, no one seemed to have imagined that it was but the preliminary indication of a complete loss of reason.

It was at ten in the morning that Charlotte departed from Puebla; the second night was passed at Orizaba, and thence the imperial traveller made her way to Cordoba, reaching that place on the third day, much later than anticipated, owing to torrential rains which had fallen almost unceasingly from the hour that Mexico City had been left behind. The journey occupied thus more than forty hours, instead of but fourteen or fifteen as upon ordinary occasions.

Irritated by the continual stoppages *en route,* occasioned by the execrable condition of the roads which prevented the carriages from proceeding at more than a snail's pace, Charlotte wished to continue the journey on horseback, and she was only prevented from following such an unusual and unwise course by her chief of escort pointing out to her that no time would be saved in the end, since her majesty's suite and all of the baggage would have to travel in the vehicles and would necessarily be several hours behind the others, even if they succeeded in arriving at Vera Cruz in the most expeditious manner. With much reluctance the excitable empress gave way.

At daybreak on the morning of the fourth day the imperial traveller arrived at the Paso del Macho, at which point the railway at that time connected with Vera Cruz. It is situated at a distance of 76 kilometres from the port, and several hundred kilometres from Mexico City.

The reception accorded the empress at Vera Cruz was hardly as sympathetic as that met with at Puebla, Cordoba,



THE STATE COACH USED BY MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE DURING THEIR REIGN, AND NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO CITY

and Orizaba. Unfortunately also the increasing irritability of the illustrious traveller manifested itself clearly to those who were about her, and a violent fit of hysterical anger upon her part attracted general attention and astonishment.

This was occasioned by an incident which occurred upon the arrival of the party at the embarkation stairs at Vera Cruz, in order to take a small boat to the steamer awaiting them in the roads.

Observing that the small boat in which she was invited to take a seat was flying the French flag, Charlotte protested strongly against the occurrence, loudly scolding the officials, including the captain of the port, who were standing by, and emphatically resisting their inducements to enter the boat. She demanded that the French flag should be instantly replaced by the Mexican.

Before this could be effected, however, the consent of the prefect of the port, General Tomás Marin, had to be obtained. Although at first disposed to discuss the matter with the other authorities, the outraged official perceived that this was not the best time to argue before an angry woman, more especially as the departure of the mail steamer had already been delayed several hours in order to accommodate her. The French officers, also, upon this occasion behaved with great courtesy and consideration towards Charlotte, notwithstanding the aggressive and offensive manner in which she—poor, irresponsible lady—had conducted herself. The remainder of the small boats conveying the suite and the personal impedimenta were nevertheless allowed to carry the French flag upon the short passage between the port and the steamer.

Until the French had been replaced by the Mexican flag the empress flatly refused to continue the journey; but this alteration having been carried out to her satisfaction, she entered the boat and was transported amid a gloomy silence to the larger vessel *L'Impératrice Eugénie*, a French packet which awaited the imperial passenger. Here her Majesty, already considerably mollified, took farewell of the commandante of Vera Cruz, Captain Cloué, to whom she expressed her intention of returning to Mexico within three months from that date. At 6 P.M. *L'Impératrice Eugénie* had left her moorings, and Charlotte had taken her last glimpse of Mexico.

Albeit the empress's departure from Mexico had formed a topic for general comment in that country, no one seems to have telegraphed the news officially to France. Some private information upon the subject had been received, but this was universally disbelieved when first put into circulation, and so little knowledge did the authorities possess regarding the empress's movements, that those Paris publications which derived their inspiration from the Quai D'Orsay protested strongly against the mere report of her Majesty having left Mexico for Europe. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, for instance, observed that 'They were authorised to denounce as arrant calumny the supposition that the Empress of Mexico was on her way to Europe.' Technically this statement was correct, for the empress had arrived in France upon the previous evening.

On the 10th August the packet cast anchor at Saint Nazaire. The imperial traveller proceeded at once to Paris, allowing no time for any official objections, and declining, when at length it was offered, all official or imperial hospitality. Charlotte had crossed the seas at the worst time of the year for no other purpose than to bring the Emperor of the French to declare a definite policy towards Mexico, and until she had obtained his 'yea' or 'nay' to her demands, she was determined to accept no favours from his hands or from those of his representatives, and to brook no delay.

Charlotte upon her arrival at the capital, with as little ceremony as possible, alighted at the Grand Hotel. She thereafter lost no time in despatching a messenger to Napoleon, asking for a private and immediate interview. At that season of the year the French capital was practically deserted, the month of August in Paris proving usually one of the most quiet and uneventful in the social calendar.

Even the unexpected news of the empress's sudden appearance upon the scene did not induce many of the *beau monde* to hurry away from the cool haunts of their country retreats to languish in the hot and dusty streets of the capital.

The court was lodged at Saint Cloud, the former beautiful summer palace of Napoleon I., Charles X., and Louis Philippe, and now the favourite residence of the man whom Charlotte had travelled so far and so determinedly to see—the arbiter of her own and of Maximilian's fate—the Emperor Napoleon III.

When the intelligence of Charlotte's unwelcome arrival had at length been communicated to Napoleon and her peremptory note demanding an interview had been delivered into his hands, a sudden desire to avoid at all costs a personal and painful contest with this remarkable woman possessed him. Perhaps this feeling arose from his coward conscience, or, again, from his conviction that he could not now, even if he would, retreat from the plans which he had completed, and which would inevitably prevent him from leaving a single French soldier in Mexico after the end of the year. But whatsoever the reason the emperor, at last brought to bay, sought every pretext to avoid the interview. His minister, M. Drouyn de l'Huys, was instructed to put off the importunate lady with any excuse; that crafty and resourceful agent certainly did his best in this direction. He pleaded that his imperial master was ill, that he was absent for a few days, that he could not possibly receive such an illustrious caller for some little time—but to all and every pretext Charlotte returned the same answer, 'I *will* see the Emperor.'

Finding all subterfuges unavailing, Napoleon at length reluctantly consented to the much-dreaded meeting. On the day appointed an imperial carriage was awaiting the Empress of Mexico as she stepped from her hotel, and, entirely alone, she proceeded to attend the fateful conference at the palace of Saint Cloud.

The journey thither by road occupies about one hour, the distance from Paris scarcely exceeding eight miles, and the way leads through some of the most attractive suburbs of the French capital which, upon that glorious autumn day, must have presented a peaceful and pleasing appearance, in marked contrast to the sun-baked streets of Paris, filled with the hideous reeking odours of an over-populated city.

It is to be feared that the magnificence of the royal park, through which the empress now hurriedly drove, could have made but little impression upon her excited, confused mind. At most periods Charlotte was deeply susceptible to beautiful scenic surroundings, and intensely responsive to the call of Nature. At any other time the superb sweeping avenues of trees, stately, venerable, and towering, the many picturesque views, would have challenged her enraptured gaze and elicited her warmest admiration; to-day, however, she passed them by without noting either their quiet grandeur or their sylvan repose. Her thoughts were centred upon the one man in the whole world who, at that time, could relieve the situation of extreme danger with which she and the being whom she loved best on earth were faced in a foreign and hostile country. Napoleon could either become her deity or her destroyer.

Charlotte was now in her twenty-seventh year, and notwithstanding the severe mental trials through which she had passed during her two strenuous years' reign in Mexico, she was still one of the most beautiful of women. No man could look upon her without experiencing a feeling of deep admiration; even to the jaded, dissipated eyes of Napoleon III., the physical attractions of his imperial visitor must have made a strong appeal.

It was impossible that this woman, notwithstanding the justice of her cause, entirely alone and dependent upon her own resources of diplomacy and persuasion as she found herself, could have avoided a feeling of intense nervousness, a sensation which became more acute when, towards the end of the interview, her rival and antagonist, the Empress Eugénie, entered the room. She had now two wary, merciless opponents to face, both of whom, in this instance, at least, were working together, mutually determined to resist all appeals either to their feelings of humanity or to their sense of honour in observing the terms of an agreement solemnly entered into and as deliberately violated.

Vehemently, passionately, at times perhaps almost incoherently, Charlotte urged the cause of her consort Maximilian. She drew an exact picture of the position which the Imperialists occupied, owing to the pertinacity of the hostile Liberals in Mexico, of the emptiness of the treasury, and the difficulties of raising fresh taxes from an already impoverished and overburdened people; of the indifference shown by Napoleon's officers (doubtless from instructions received from Paris, but entirely unsuspected by the fair suppliant), while she portrayed in eloquent terms the deadly peril which would inevitably await the emperor if the French troops were withdrawn, as was being threatened. Desperately, and perhaps irascibly at times, she pleaded for further financial assistance and maintenance of the French army in Mexico, for at least one year more.

The unresponsive, chilling silence of her auditors struck a note of terror to the unhappy woman. Glancing apprehensively from one hard face to the other, she appreciated at length that she had been pleading to stones; herself of royal blood, she was realising the significance of the biblical injunction—'Put not thy trust in princes.'

Her efforts at last exhausted, Charlotte was made to understand the will, the final, irrevocable resolution, of the French emperor. No variation in the definite arrangements which had been determined upon, and which called for the gradual withdrawal of the French arms from Mexico, could possibly be entertained. The Emperor of Mexico had not fulfilled the obligations entered into, and which comprised the repayment to France of sums of money already advanced; it was not desirable that the young empire in Latin-America should be further supported by foreign intervention; prolonged foreign protection was a bad school and a source of perils; in domestic matters it habituated a people not to reckon upon themselves, and paralysed the national activity—these and other platitudes carefully prepared and rehearsed, were dealt out to the crushed and cruelly-deceived woman who stood indignantly before him.

And it was to learn of this final betrayal from his own lips, repeating merely what had already been officially conveyed to her by the Minister, M. Drouyn de l'Huys, that Charlotte had made so fatiguing and arduous a journey of some thousands of miles, at the most stormy and unhealthy time of the year; it was for this that she had braved the fevers of the 'hot country,' and the deadly sea-sickness from which she greatly suffered! It was heart-breaking and barbarous! Thus then fell to the ground the whole fabric which for these long and trying years she and Maximilian had been labouring—how sincerely they alone could tell!—to construct; at the whim of one man, and that man the cause of the whole trouble, was to be destroyed the structure of hope which her ardent imagination had so flatteringly built up.

The overwrought woman gave way to despair, and then ensued a scene such as the walls of Saint Cloud had seldom witnessed, and one which must often have recurred to Napoleon, when, shorn of his imperial grandeur, he lived on as a refugee in a foreign land, with no occupation but that of unprofitably recalling to memory his many acts of injustice and selfishness.

Enraged by the cold, calculating duplicity of the man, forgetful of the fact that she was addressing the anointed emperor of a powerful nation, Charlotte poured forth a torrent of angry abuse, denouncing Napoleon as a charlatan and a hypocrite, a cheat and a rank betrayer. 'What,' she exclaimed, 'after all, should I, a daughter of a Bourbon, have expected from the word of a Bonaparte!' [1]

---

[1] Following her stormy interview with Napoleon at Saint Cloud, Charlotte herself gave an accurate account of the proceedings, and dictated to her secretary, Señor José Luis Blasio, an account to be sent by the mail to the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico.

CHAPTER XX

Charlotte arrives at Rome—The Pope's attentions—Empress receives much public notice—Visit to the Vatican—The public audience—The private reception—The Pope refuses to intervene—Empress's profound dejection—Return to hotel—Further evidence of mental derangement—Second visit to the Vatican—Charlotte loses all control—Distress of the Pope—Removal of afflicted Empress—Count Philippe of Flanders arrives to take charge of his sister—Dismissal of Empress's suite—Departure for Miramar—Sad home-coming—Château de Bouchout.

After her last bitter experience, the disillusioned and disheartened empress tarried but little longer in the French capital. Without holding any further communication with the imperial family at Saint Cloud, and after declining to receive the Minister for Foreign Affairs when he presented himself at her hotel to bid her farewell, Charlotte left Paris for Rome, determined to appeal to the Holy Father, and to implore the exercise of his influence with the French emperor.

Arrived at Rome, Charlotte took up her abode in the Grand Hotel, occupying a handsome suite of apartments located upon the first floor, the windows of which looked out upon the Corso. Charlotte's apartments were situated in the right wing, while the members of her suite (excepting the one waiting-woman, Mathilde Doblinger) were suitably accommodated in the left wing. A military guard of honour was stationed at the entrance to the hotel, composed of the pope's cuirassiers of the French garrison troops (some of whom were still to be found in Rome) who served alternately. At the hours of changing of the guard, and also during the times of repast, military bands entertained the visitors with merry music.

All of these attentions proved particularly acceptable to the empress, who had a childish love for imperial display and ceremony, as were the numerous state visits which were paid to her, the members of the aristocratic catholic world in the Eternal City vieing with one another in showing their respect and extending their hospitality to her Majesty. The day following her arrival in Rome she was visited by Cardinal Antonelli, who brought her the pope's benediction and his affectionate greetings.

During those few days the empress occupied herself busily in returning visits and inspecting the principal churches, museums, and picture galleries of which Rome possesses so complete and attractive a collection. Upon these expeditions Señora del Barrio was the empress's constant companion.

Charlotte now paid her visit, to which she had so long looked forward, to the Vatican. His Holiness had sent carriages from his own stables to convey the empress and her suite, while an escort composed of the Swiss Guard surrounded the imperial conveyance.

The populace of Rome at this time were distinguished for their ill manners and insolent conduct, and the reception accorded to the papal uniforms was anything but flattering, the gibes and insults levelled at the empress's conveyance, as it made its way with no small difficulty through the seething, shrieking mobs, tending to frighten the occupant considerably. This proved the first time within her experience that she had found herself the object of foreign public ridicule and hatred. It was, therefore, with feelings of genuine relief that the empress saw her escort turn into the guarded gates of the Vatican, which were then quickly closed against the yelling multitude without.

Conducted with imperial ceremony to the grand staircase, thence to the magnificent suite of reception rooms leading to the papal apartments, Charlotte soon found herself kneeling before the supreme pontiff, upon whose material as well as spiritual help in the dire circumstances she had brought herself to firmly depend.

HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX
(GIOVANNI MARIA MASTAI FERRETTI)
Born 1792. Died 1879

His Holiness received his illustrious suppliant not, as she had hoped might prove the case, in the seclusion of his own private apartments, but in the throne-room, and with the fullest state ceremonial. Here every word which passed between them would be audible to, and greedily commented upon by, those surrounding them. The immense crowd of bishops and archbishops, of frocked monks and hooded friars, and of other members of the numerous religious orders who contributed to form the court of Pius IX., regarded the beautiful young empress with eyes which were anything but friendly; almost intuitively—and a woman's powers of perception in such matters are rarely at fault—she knew that the pope did not intend to grant her his aid, and that this imposing ceremonial was merely a cloak designed to disguise the deep-seated hostility of the churchmen who advised him.

Particularly unsympathetic in his attitude was Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, that sinister reactionary, whose unscrupulous duplicity was never more culpably displayed than in his treatment of Charlotte upon this occasion. Besides being a traitor to all who had ever trusted him, Antonelli was a thief, for, at his death in 1876, the Vatican finances were found to be deficient in no less a sum than 45,000,000 *lire*,[1] all of which money was subsequently traced to the late Secretary of State, and from him to various members of his family. From such a man, what had Charlotte and her mission to expect? Assuredly the destiny of this unhappy lady could not have fallen into worse hands than those of this dishonourable priest.

As the empress approached the throne, the pope arose from his chair to receive her, an honour extended only to reigning sovereigns and not invariably to them. Charlotte would have knelt to kiss his Holiness's sandal; but with a fatherly tenderness he prevented her from so doing, at the same time extending his hand that the empress might touch with lips the pontifical ring—that bauble which pious catholics regard as representing the Holy Ghost, just as the thumb and the first two fingers when raised aloft represent to them the Holy Trinity.

---

[1] One lire = 9½d.

A large arm-chair had been placed beside the throne, and upon this the empress had been invited to seat herself, while the numerous members of the court passed before her and the pontiff, each one kissing the hand of her Majesty, and the sandal of his Holiness. At the end of the ceremony the papal blessing was bestowed, and then—to Charlotte's immense relief—the pope invited her to accompany him alone to his cabinet, where even the pushful Antonelli was not invited to enter.

The interview lasted a considerable time, during which the numerous suite, who had accompanied the empress to the Vatican, were escorted through the galleries and different apartments in order to while away the period of waiting. At the end of a full hour the message was received that the audience had terminated, and that the empress was ready to depart. What had been the result of the fateful conference—was it destined to prove beneficial to the Maximilian cause or the contrary ?

Charlotte, accompanied by the full retinue of cardinals and prelates, came away slowly and sorrowfully from the pope's private apartments, moving towards the head of the grand staircase. One glance at her face was sufficient to prove that the silent will of her opponent, Cardinal Antonelli, had prevailed, and that the Holy Father, notwithstanding his sympathetic reception and kindly attitude, had remained immovable, and Maximilian had nothing to hope for from Rome.

That day Charlotte sat and ate alone. She would not even allow her faithful woman Mathilde Doblinger to attend her, and she sent an urgent message to her chamberlain, Count del Valle, to at once have withdrawn the military guards and the bands from the hotel, since she desired to receive no further attentions of this character during her brief stay in Rome. The only individual who could gain access to the empress was the Mexican Minister in Rome, Señor Velasquez de Leon, to whom she related the negative results of her pleading with the pope for the exercise of his influence with the French emperor, designed to prevent the threatened withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico.

As etiquette demanded, two days afterwards the pope returned her majesty's ceremonial visit, being accompanied by the sinister Cardinal Antonelli and an ample escort. Even had it been desirable, it was rendered impossible for Charlotte to secure any further word in private with the Holy Father. The interview proved short and rigidly formal, terminating with the bestowal of the papal benediction, and the withdrawal of his Holiness in anything but a pleasant frame of mind, rendered all the more acute by reason of the disorderly reception with which his cavalcade had met in the streets of Rome, at this time intensely hostile to priestly dominance.

While it was generally understood that the papal intercession had been firmly and definitely refused, and that Charlotte had now reconciled herself to the inevitable, the spirit of pluck and determination of that brave woman—who fought for the life of her beloved husband so long as strength and reason were at her command—induced her to make one further attempt to move the pope to take action. Attiring herself in deep mourning and without a single ornament of any kind upon her person, Charlotte summoned to her side the Señora del Barrio, and, with her as sole companion, she once more presented herself at the doors of the Vatican.

It was six o'clock in the evening of the 30th of September; Charlotte had remained the entire day in her rooms, with locked doors, reclining and holding converse with no one. Who can tell what scenes of mental torment, what outbursts of bitterness, those dumb walls then witnessed, what anguish was endured by the unhappy, helpless woman enclosed within them! The unhealthy excitement of the past few days was now telling upon her tottering reason with terrible effect.

As the distraught empress passed several of the hotel servants upon the staircase, a hurried glimpse was caught of her sad, drawn face, of the unnaturally brilliant colour in her cheeks, and of the glittering wildness of her eyes. Arrived at the gates of the Vatican, Charlotte gave personal instructions to the driver of her conveyance, a public vehicle hired from the street stand, not to await her return, but to drive back to the hotel. Then, alone, she climbed once more the vast staircase leading to the papal apartments—visited but a few days since amid all the glittering furnishings of an imperial procession—and demanded an audience forthwith with his Holiness.

This was at once granted, and the excited, hysterical woman found herself once again kneeling a suppliant before that saintly face, yet met unrelentingly by an adamantine will. Amid sobs and utterances almost inarticulate, Charlotte pleaded her cause, unheedful of the discouraging attitude of the pope, who regarded her with more alarm than sympathy. This feeling of apprehension was intensified when Charlotte murmured her intention of remaining the night at the Vatican, and begged his Holiness to give her an asylum beneath his roof. In vain it was pointed out to the distracted lady that no woman was ever permitted to pass the night beneath the roof of the Vatican. She then threatened to sleep in one of the corridors, for leave she would not until she had obtained the pope's sacred word to help her. Now seriously concerned, since the night was fast approaching, the Holy Father summoned his most trusted attendants, in order to consult with them upon the unusual and trying situation. His Holiness's physician was sent for, and he found Charlotte to be in a state bordering upon insanity, and completely unaccountable for her actions.

Addressing soothing words to the weeping woman and consoling her as best he might, the arrival of her attendants, who had been hurriedly sent for, was awaited with impatience and anxiety. At length Señora del Barrio and the empress's maid, also Señores del Valle and Castillo, were found and all were summoned to the cabinet of the pope, who dispensed upon this occasion with much of the ceremonial attendant upon access to his presence. Finally

Charlotte became calmer and consented to be conducted from the cabinet by her faithful attendants, Señora del Barrio and Mathilde Doblinger; they did not leave her alone thereafter for a single moment. Both stayed in the apartment in the Vatican which—acting upon the advice of his own physician—the pope had consented to place at the empress's disposal for the night. Thus the unhappy woman had carried out her threat, and actually slept beneath the roof of his Holiness. But it was a sleep from which she awoke bereft of her reason. It was no longer a thinking, resourceful, expectant woman who opened her eyes to the golden sunlight of that glorious October day in the year of 1866, but a nervous, querulous, and irresponsible being, deprived of the one faculty which distinguishes the human from the remainder of the animal creation. Unhappily, it was neither a merciful erasure of the unfortunate experiences through which she had latterly passed, nor yet a complete effacement of the dangers to which her loved though absent consort was still exposed. Charlotte had completely lost her will-power and her once powerful sense of initiative; she had become both helpless and resourceless, for ever more to lean dependent upon the care and the watchfulness of her close attendants, unable to think naturally or to converse coherently, a total wreck of that once brilliant brain which had schemed and contrived, fashioned and formulated plans the most splendid, hopes the most radiant—all to end in this!

Although her close attendants had observed certain disquieting indications that all was not well with their imperial mistress, the conviction that came home to them that their empress had become hopelessly insane proved a terrible shock, and general consternation prevailed among her *entourage*. An informal conference took place in the saloon of the hotel at Rome between Señor Martin Castillo, Count del Valle, the Marques del Barrio, the minister Velasquez de Leon, Don Felipe Degollado, and Bishop Ramerez. They could arrange nothing without consulting with the empress's family, then staying at Laeken, the palace of the king of the

Belgians, and pending advice from Brussels no steps, active or definite, could be taken. On the day following the attack, a messenger arrived from the pope, charged with the expression of his Holiness's great distress at the misfortune which had overtaken the young empress. During the whole of the night which she had passed at the Vatican, she had paced her apartment talking constantly and incoherently, refusing to repose for a single moment upon the couch. At daybreak she was visited by the pope's physician and one of his secretaries, who calmed the excited woman somewhat by their genuine sympathies and gentle patience in listening to her complaints. Finally they induced her to accompany them to the hotel, where her grief-stricken suite were awaiting her.

Unfortunately, the earliest tendency which the demented empress displayed was a violent hatred for the faithful woman Mathilde, who had known and waited upon her from her girlhood. She was accused in violent language of having betrayed the Emperor Maximilian to his enemies, and no arguments, no prayerful protestations could shake Charlotte's conviction that all the trouble through which she was passing had been occasioned by this unfortunate woman. 'Leave my house, you traitress, leave my house', exclaimed the infuriated empress, becoming more and more excited. 'Go to your accomplices and never let me see your evil face again.'

The same baseless suspicions induced her to refuse all food and drink offered to her by her hitherto most trusted attendants, and it seemed as if the unfortunate lady must die of starvation.

The following day, having summoned her young private secretary, José Luis Blasio, to her apartments, Charlotte directed a letter, which rather resembled an imperial decree, degrading her Grand Chamberlain, Señor Juan Suarez Peredo, Count del Valle, depriving him of all his titles, 'because of his attempt upon the life of his sovereign.' This extraordinary document the empress signed with deliberate care, and at the same time she gave instructions to Señor Blasio to make exact copies of the pronouncement and despatch one to each of the following: the Marques Neri del Barrio; the Marques del Apartado; Doctor Bouslaveck; Señor J. Kulachevich, and Señora Kulachevich. No one thereafter dared to mention the name of the Count del Valle in the presence of the empress, and that much maligned nobleman was compelled to efface himself completely in order to avoid further exciting the enraged lady.

Recognising the hopelessness of the situation, the Count soon afterwards departed from Rome, and eventually took up his residence in Seville; he never returned to Mexico. Señora Kulachevich and her husband at the same time left for Vienna, taking with them the Austrian and Spanish servants of the empress, while the Marques del Barrio and his wife left for Paris. Señor del Castillo attended to the Mexican servants, who had formed part of the imperial suite, and who were sent back to their own country. Thus the imperial household, which had been assembled but a few months previous with so much pleasurable anticipation of a successful mission to Europe, was dissolved, and the empress was left practically alone.

The Count of Flanders, Charlotte's younger brother, arrived at Rome on the 7th of October, from Vienna, where he had been staying in company with the Count Bombelles, on a visit to their Austrian relatives. He was met at the railway station by the Count del Valle, the Marques del Barrio, and Señor Castillo. A complete account of all that had occurred was given to the distressed prince, who then proceeded to visit his sister at her hotel. Although they had not met for over two years, Charlotte evinced very little interest in the prince's arrival; she consented, nevertheless, to accompany him to Miramar on the following day, the journey being made by special train *viâ* Ancon and Trieste without incident, the former happy home of Maximilian and Charlotte being reached two or three days later (10th October).

In the meantime a cablegram had been despatched to

Señor Hertzfeld (First Secretary of the Austrian Legation in Mexico City), who was instructed to gently break the distressing news of the empress's affliction to the emperor. Count Herzfeld was a great favourite with Maximilian, and had considerable influence with him, even sharing his apartments at the palace after the empress had left.

The despatch was worded :—'Her Majesty the Empress Charlotte was seriously attacked on the 2nd October by congestion of the brain. The stricken empress is being conducted to Miramar.' It was also decided that Doctor Bouslaveck should immediately return to Mexico, *viâ* New York, in order to personally describe to the emperor the cause and the condition of his consort's illness.

The Mexican Minister at Rome, Señor Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, sent to Maximilian a long and painfully detailed account of the empress's seizure. 'We could imagine many Mexican calamities,' he said, 'but it certainly never entered our minds, when we were admiring the courage and heroic valour of her majesty the empress at leaving your majesty, enduring the dangers and the fatigues of the bad roads to Vera Cruz in the rainy season in the midst of yellow fever, crossing the ocean, and coming as a great negociatrix to demand rights for Mexico and the execution of treaties, that she would be so ungraciously received in Paris as to affect her majesty's mind so seriously.'

The treatment meted out to the overstrung lady must have been quite as bad as represented, because, from the moment of leaving the presence of Napoleon and Eugénie, the mind of Charlotte became impressed indelibly with the belief that they intended to poison her. To use the expression of the authority already referred to, Señor Velasquez de Leon, the empress at table 'would taste nothing until we all had been served, and she fancied that the coffee-pot had a hole in it. She also imagined that I had been poisoned the day before.'

While at the palace of Saint Cloud, a glass of orangeade had been offered to her by the emperor, but she declared he had poisoned it, and refused to even taste of it. From that moment everything that was offered was suspected by the lady of having been poisoned by orders of the French emperor.

It was hoped that the peaceful quietude of Miramar, with its countless happy associations, would have proved beneficial to the afflicted empress, who had passed so many of her youthful and more peaceful days within its charmed surroundings. But the effect proved precisely the opposite. Immediately the turreted walls came into view from the deck of the packet-boat proceeding to Trieste, Charlotte's grief became intensified; to her it seemed as if she were returning to the tomb of all her once-bright imaginings and cruelly shattered day-dreams. The tender solicitude of her younger brother Philippe, Count of Flanders, who had accompanied her upon the whole hard journey from Rome, proved of no avail in inducing Charlotte to stay for any length of time in her former home. There were but three years' difference in the ages of the brother and sister, and the deepest affection had always existed between them.

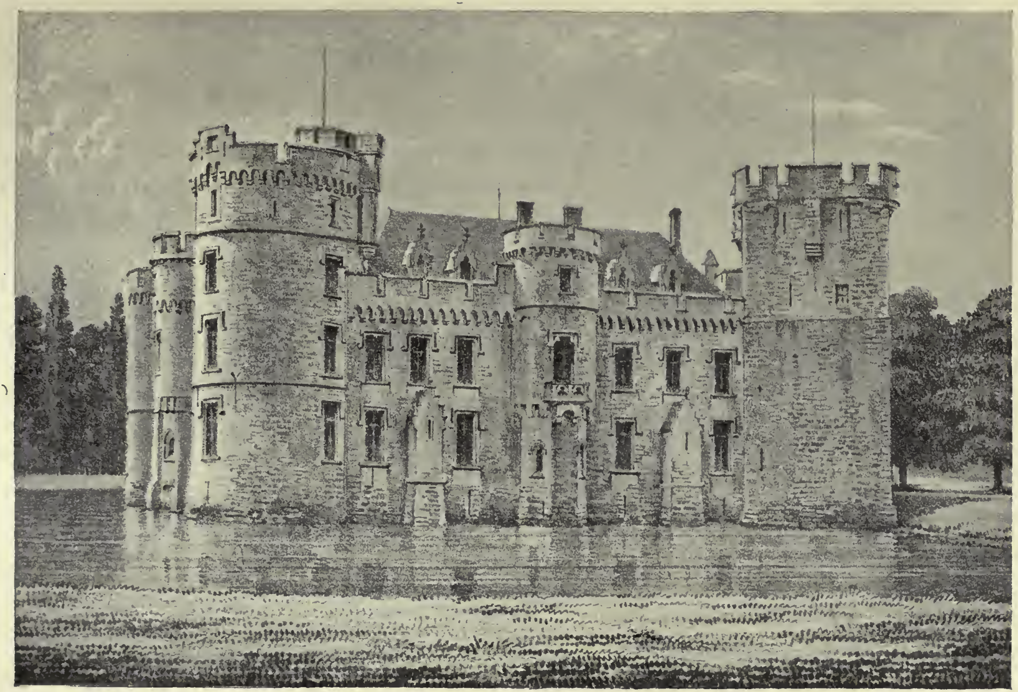
Whenever she found herself alone—and like most mentally afflicted people she evinced normally an intense objection to being closely attended or carefully watched—Charlotte would wander disconsolately through the long suite of empty apartments wherein she had known such gloriously happy if but fleeting days—days, alas! for ever passed, and for ever impossible to recall. For long hours the solitary woman would remain in Maximilian's forsaken cabinet—the model of his own apartments on the frigate *Novara*, as already noted—lovingly handling his favourite books, devouring with hungry, yearning eyes his most treasured pictures, even fondling the dumb objects which he had the more frequently used and had liked the most. Then must have come home to the stricken wife and comrade with all their telling force and intensity those pathetic, heart-searching words of the immortal Tennyson:

> But O! for the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still!'

Finally, it was decided to conduct the empress from these scenes of sadness and sorrowful memories to the Château de Bouchout (pronounced 'Bukote'), not far from her old home in Belgium, the palace of Laeken, in which she had been born. The Count of Flanders found her ready enough to yield to this suggestion, and within a few days of her arrival at Miramar, Charlotte left with her brother and a few attendants for Brussels, thence driving to the Château de Bouchout, from the protecting walls of which the unhappy lady has at no time since emerged.

The residence of the ex-Empress Charlotte is locally known as the 'Castle of the Beauty of the Sleeping Wood,' and is situated at a distance of some two leagues north of Brussels, in the province of Brabant, upon the road which leads to Wolwerthen. It is surrounded by a magnificent forest, composed of particularly lofty and umbrageous trees. The château was formerly the property of Count Louis-Léopold de Beauffort, from whom it was purchased.

The history of the castle goes back into the twelfth century. In 1173 Bouchout belonged to William de Crainhem, a descendant of a haughty and powerful family which has now completely disappeared from the pages of history. The heirs of William, his son and his brother, bore the name of another of their properties, that at Wanghe. Another member of the family, Daniel, fought at and helped to gain the battle of Woeringen in favour of the Brabons, and, later on, he assumed the name of Daniel de Bouchout. During two centuries the Manor of Bouchout descended with scarcely a break from father to son in the family of Crainhem, nearly all of whose scions occupied some notable place in local history—in the wars, tournaments, missions, etc., and in which they freely distinguished themselves. One of them was killed at the battle of Montlhéry, on the 16th of July 1465, while a daughter, who inherited the castle and the surrounding domain, married Evrard de la Marck, Lord d'Aremberg, a brother of the 'Butcher of Ardennes,' of cruel memory. The second of the two sons of Evrard, Robert de la Marck,



THE CHÂTEAU DE BOUCHOUT, IN BRABANT, THE HOME, DURING THE PAST FORTY-SEVEN YEARS, OF THE EMPRESS CHARLOTTE OF MEXICO

Lord d'Aremberg and de Mirwart, was yet another distinguished descendant of the family, and became owner of Bouchout. He married Mathilde de Montfort, and it was from his daughter, by Jean de Ligne, Lord of Barbonson, that descended the present ducal family of Arenberg—Aerschot-Croy.

In 1582, Bouchout was attacked and seized by the Duc de Parme, but it was soon after again lost to him. After passing through the hands of several other owners the château descended to the family of Assonville, Lords of Hauteville, one of whom afterwards sold it to Ferdinand Roose, several times burgomaster of Antwerp, between the years 1634 and 1641. It was one of his descendants, the Countess Joséphine-Antoinette-Ghislaine-Elizabeth, the last of the de Roose family, who married Count Louis-Léopold-Amédée de Beauffort, in 1830.

When, in 1600, the Château de Bouchout was restored by Christophe d'Assonville it presented the appearance of an almost square building with five towers of various dimensions. Since then the aspect of the edifice has again been changed. It was entirely restored in 1832 under the direction of the architect Suys, in spite of which fact Bouchout still preserves a good deal of its middle-age characteristics. The interior of the castle is particularly rich in historical souvenirs—such as famous portraits, sculptures, bas-reliefs, ancient marbles, armour, and numerous articles of vertu, all of which lend great attractions to the interior, and are much valued and appreciated by the present imperial occupant.

The Empress Charlotte's insanity has lately presented many unusual symptoms; while the affliction has undoubtedly been of the melancholic type upon occasions, it has not at any time assumed the form of perversion of the moral senses; on the other hand, its subject has never become indifferent to social considerations, nor in any way apathetic and neglectful of the performance of personal duties. There has been no display of what is called 'the selfishness of the insane,' for, during the forty-seven years of her dementia, Charlotte can by no means be said to have concentrated her thoughts entirely upon herself; on the contrary, she has continued to display great affection for and interest in her visitors and attendants. Where there is an absence of moral persuasion there is but rarely found any evidence of moral insanity, and there has not been observed the slightest taint of this in connection with the unhappy ex-Empress of Mexico. Occasionally there have been violent outbursts of grief, and these attacks have been accompanied by temporary impairment of general health; but on the whole this has proved remarkably good, and to-day, at the age of seventy-three, the illustrious lady is in the enjoyment of almost perfect eye-sight, moderately good hearing, and the rare power to sleep for long hours without any artificial aid.

CHAPTER XXI

The Church in Mexico—Strained relations with Maximilian—Reasons for Pope's desertion of imperial cause—Liberal goverment's confiscation of church property—The Papal Nunico visits Mexico—Machinations of Archbishop Labastida—Maximilian remains firm—Cardinal Antonelli's threats—Debased condition of Mexican clergy—Further trouble with Bazaine—The Emperor's position becomes untenable—Desertion by foreign legionaries—Maximilian retires in poor health to Orizaba—Imperial towns abandoned to Liberal troops.

CHARLOTTE'S complete failure to secure any assistance from the pope, as related in the last chapter, may undoubtedly be attributed to the attitude which Maximilian had taken up towards the Church in Mexico, and to the animosity of the papal nuncio, Monsignor Meglia.

Just as financial difficulties had faced Maximilian almost from the day of his arrival, so had the religious dilemma presented itself before he had even set foot in Mexico. Reference has already been made to the proceedings of the three members of the Regency (the Archbishop of Mexico, General Almonte, and General Salas), and to the serious dissensions which had arisen between them. These had commenced some time before the archduke had quitted Miramar, and they continued in an even more embittered spirit during the whole period of his unfortunate reign.

While at Rome (April 1864) Maximilian had engaged in a long and earnest discussion with the Holy Father respecting the Church question in Mexico, when Pope Pius IX. had promised to use his supreme authority to settle it definitely. Unfortunately, no basis upon which the pope could interfere and exert his influence had been discussed; but a papal nuncio was nevertheless despatched to Mexico shortly after

Maximilian's own arrival, and the advent of this prelate was impatiently awaited to relieve, as was hoped, the intolerable situation which had arisen between the Church party and the Imperialists.

It may be here explained that, by a decree of 25th June 1856, the Church in Mexico had been despoiled of most of its vast accumulated wealth—largely wrung from the pious but ignorant Indian population by means of threats and priestly intimidation; but certain important rights and privileges had been safeguarded to the clergy. When President Comonfort, a strong anti-clericalist, fell from power in 1858, his successor, General Miramón, completely reversed his policy, and, by a decree dated 28th January 1858, he had restored to the Church all that it had been compelled to forfeit. Miramón's brief government over, he was succeeded by Benito Juarez, an uncompromising hater of priests, who once again reversed the decision of his predecessor, and, by a third presidential decree of 1859, declared the whole of the Church's property to be national possessions, and forbade the clergy, under heavy penalties, to collect any further tributes.

In 1860 this confiscating law was confirmed, and its provisions were extended to the whole of the Republic. What attitude was Maximilian to take under the circumstances? To countenance the demands of the Church, as voiced with no hesitancy or undue modesty by the archbishop, would be to flout the greater part of the intelligent and conservative thinkers in the country; to confirm the decrees of 1859 and 1860 would be to still further hostilise the Church party. He, therefore, sought to adopt a policy of compromise, usually an unsatisfactory expedient, proposing that while no change should take place in regard to restoring the Church property which had already been seized and sold for the benefit of the nation, certain sums derived from the State funds should be devoted to the cause of religious education and to the maintenance of the clergy.

To these proposals, which were earnestly pressed by both Maximilian and Charlotte, the papal nuncio, Monsignor

Meglia, who had now arrived in the country, 'regretted his inability to accede.' His ear had already been gained and sedulously poisoned by Archbishop Labastida, whose personal greed and aggressiveness, so far from being reproved, were commended and encouraged by the Holy See. In a lengthy epistle addressed by the nuncio to Maximilian's Minister of Grace and Justice, Señor Escudero, it was pointed out that the pope could consent to nothing less than the restitution in full of the Church's alienated properties, and a complete revocation of the confiscatory decrees dealing with its possessions which had been promulgated. The clergy throughout the country abhorred the idea of living upon a stated income derived from the national revenue, preferring to depend upon the promiscuous charity of the faithful members of their flocks. They had found it an easy matter in the past to obtain handsome offerings from the pious Indians, even from among those who had barely enough to sustain themselves. They viewed with horror and consternation any enactment which restricted them from continuing so profitable a method of enriching themselves, and incidentally of swelling the coffers of Mother Church.

That the Church party should have been bitterly opposed to the Liberal Government and ready to welcome any change in the administration that promised redemption from the sacrilegious and pillaging hands of Juarez and his associates, may be well understood when it is remembered that, among other anti-clerical enactments, the Liberals had declared marriage in the Republic to be a civil contract only, suppressed celibacy and ecclesiastical tribunals, confiscated property belonging to the Church to the amount of £75,000,000, and had declared invalid her ownership of one-third of the soil. Finally, they passed a law separating Church and State, a law which has been upheld and even strengthened by each subsequent administration.

Seeing that the emperor was wavering dangerously between the two courses open to him, the nuncio handed to Maximilian a strongly-worded letter composed by the supreme pontiff, dated 18th October 1864, in which he practically ordered the sovereign to re-establish the Catholic religion throughout his dominions, to the rigid exclusion of all other forms of worship, to restore the religious orders which had been broken up and dispossessed of their convents, to redeem the revenues which had been diverted from the Church, and to place the whole of the national education under the control of the clergy.

When, at length, Maximilian rendered his decision in the form of a letter addressed to the Minister of Justice, and published in the official journal (27th December 1864), a decision which failed to accord all or even a greater part of what had been demanded, the papal nuncio replied in terms so insulting and so violent, that the minister declined even to show the letter to the emperor. Had he done so, it is highly probable that a definite rupture between the Crown and the Holy See would have resulted.

A more temperate reply was sent from Rome by the suave and subtle Antonelli, Papal Secretary of State, who, in the course of a lengthy communication, observed :

> 'The letter which His Majesty, Maximilian I., Emperor of Mexico, addressed, under date of 27th December, ultimo, to Señor Escudero, Minister of Grace and Justice, and which was published the same day in the official journal of the empire, has caused the most painful surprise to all Catholic hearts, and has been a source of chagrin and regret to the Holy Father.
>
> 'Subsequent communications from the Apostolic Nuncio, and the note itself, which your excellency has been pleased to address, on the 8th of February last, to the Cardinal Secretary of State undersigned, have not been in the slightest degree calculated to diminish the serious apprehensions which the aforesaid act has produced, in reference to the grave dangers to which the Catholic Church is exposed in the empire of Mexico. The Cardinal undersigned, in virtue of the orders of his Holiness, sees himself, therefore, obliged to call the serious attention of your excellency to an event so deplorable, and he hopes that the legitimate complaints and just remonstrances of the Holy Apostolic See will be favourably received by the new monarch.'

Cardinal Antonelli concluded with these significant words :—

> ‘The Holy Father cannot admit that His Majesty, raised in a Catholic family always so well disposed towards the Church, can ever fail to recognise his own true interests and the real purpose of the mission which God has confided to him. He hopes, on the contrary, that His Majesty will abandon the course marked out in his letter to the Minister Escudero, and will thus spare the Holy See the necessity of taking proper measure to set right in the eyes of the world the responsibility of the August Chief of the Church—measure of which the least, certainly, would not be the recall of the Pontificial Representative in Mexico, in order that he may not remain there a powerless spectator of the spoliation of the Church, and of the violation of its most sacred rights.’

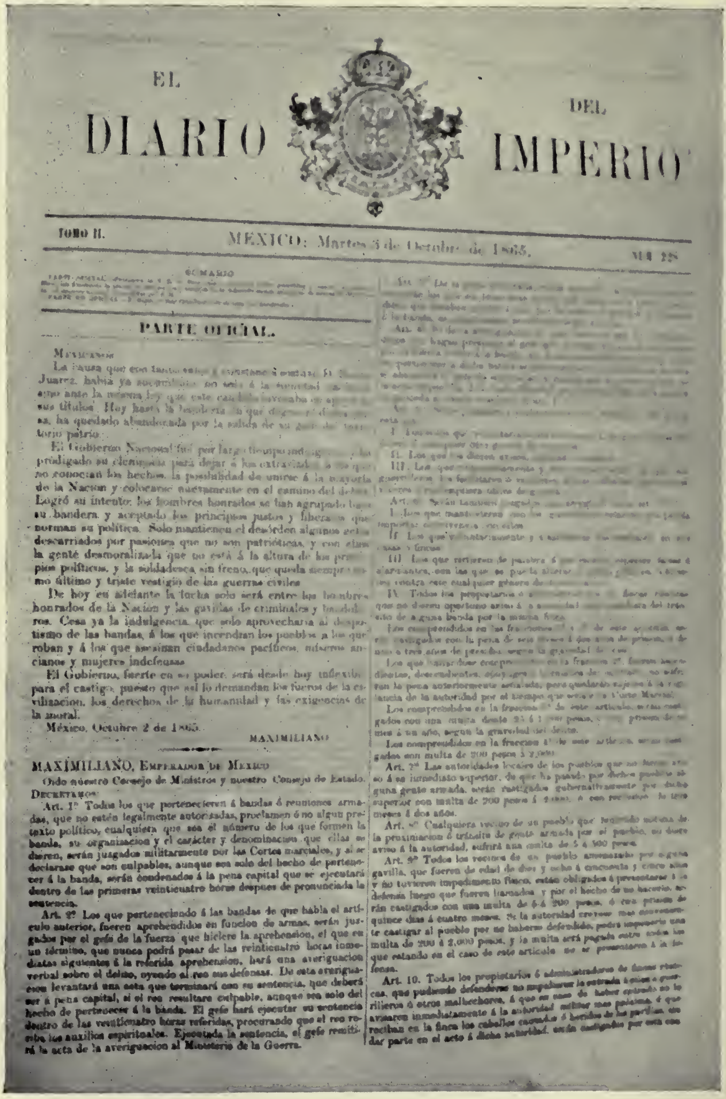
To the nuncio’s further ill-mannered declaration, ‘that all Catholics, be they emperors or kings or mere peasants, must accept the decision of the pontiff upon all questions of dogma or discipline,’ the Minister for Religious Affairs (Señor Ramirez) replied (in a communication dated 29th January 1865) that ‘Maximilian, citizen and member of the Christian Church, bows in submission to the spiritual authority of the Father of the faithful ; but, Maximilian, emperor and representative of the Mexican sovereignty, recognises no power upon earth superior to his own.’

Thus the breach sensibly widened, while the flame of opposition and mutual mistrust was assiduously fanned by the malevolent Monsignor Labastida, with whom the papal nuncio was lodged while resident in Mexico City. These two powerful and unscrupulous churchmen had, therefore, abundant opportunity of discussing, from their point of view, questions of the gravest national importance, arriving at decisions of policy without in any way consulting either the views of the people, or the sentiments of the sovereign. The rupture became complete in the month of April, when the nuncio suddenly demanded his passports, and, receiving these as promptly, left Mexico in so great a rage that his passion would not even allow of his taking a ceremonious farewell of their Majesties.

Nevertheless Maximilian, deeply offended though he had been, sent an adequate escort to conduct the nuncio to Vera Cruz, where he embarked for Europe on 2nd June. He also sent a special mission to Rome a little later, charged with the task of settling, if possible, the several delicate points which the nuncio had been unable or unwilling to negotiate.

The departure of Monsignor Meglia and the unpleasant incidents attending his mission served to further excite the Mexican clergy against Maximilian. The priests became so violent in their denunciations and so open in their threats, that it was found necessary to take measures to restrain them. A plot to either injure or kill the emperor was discovered by the police in the priest-ridden town of Puebla, the inhabitants at the same time being openly encouraged to rise against the French troops who were then in occupation, and who had been so warmly welcomed with religious ceremonies in the month of May (19th) 1863. The request preferred by the archbishop that he be permitted to return to Europe was refused by Maximilian, and in this matter, at least, he displayed a firmness of character which astonished those who had known him the most intimately.

The position of the Catholic Church in Mexico at this time was undoubtedly a perilous and an unenviable one, but it had been brought about mainly by the arrogant and aggressive attitude adopted by the priesthood. Under the Spanish régime they had found it facile to rule in an imperious and absolute manner; under the Republic this had become impossible. Something must be allowed for the bitter disappointment which awaited the clergy in the attitude assumed by Maximilian, who had been confidently expected to prove a placid and amenable instrument in their hands. It was this conviction which had impelled them to work so strenuously and so persistently for a monarchical government, and it was the firm belief that the sincerely Catholic archduke would give himself unresistingly to their



EL DIARIO DEL IMPERIO

TOMO II. MEXICO: Martes 3 de Octubre de 1865. NUM. 22[illegible]

SUMARIO

[illegible]

PARTE OFICIAL.

MEXICANOS:

La causa que con tanto valor y constancia sostuvo D. [illegible] Juarez, habia ya sucumbido no solo á la voluntad [illegible] sino ante la misma ley que este caudillo invocaba en apoyo de sus títulos. Hoy hasta la bandería en que degeneró dicha causa, ha quedado abandonada por la salida de su gefe del territorio patrio.

El Gobierno Nacional fué por largo tiempo indulgente y ha prodigado su clemencia para dejar á los extraviados, á los que no conocian los hechos, la posibilidad de unirse á la mayoría de la Nacion y colocarse nuevamente en el camino del deber. Logró su intento: los hombres honrados se han agrupado bajo su bandera y aceptado los principios justos y liberales que norman su política. Solo mantienen el desórden algunos gefes descarriados por pasiones que no son patrióticas, y con ellos la gente desmoralizada que no está á la altura de los principios políticos, y la soldadesca sin freno, que queda siempre como último y triste vestigio de las guerras civiles.

De hoy en adelante la lucha solo será entre los hombres honrados de la Nacion y las gavillas de criminales y bandoleros. Cesa ya la indulgencia que solo aprovecharía al despotismo de las bandas, á los que incendian los pueblos, á los que roban y á los que asesinan ciudadanos pacíficos, míseros ancianos y mujeres indefensas.

El Gobierno, fuerte en su poder, será desde hoy inflexible para el castigo, puesto que así lo demandan los fueros de la civilizacion, los derechos de la humanidad y las exigencias de la moral.

México, Octubre 2 de 1865.

MAXIMILIANO.

MAXIMILIANO, EMPERADOR DE MEXICO.

Oido nuestro Consejo de Ministros y nuestro Consejo de Estado,

DECRETAMOS:

Art. 1º Todos los que pertenecieren á bandas ó reuniones armadas, que no estén legalmente autorizadas, proclamen ó no algun pretexto político, cualquiera que sea el número de los que formen la banda, su organizacion y el carácter y denominacion que ellas se dieren, serán juzgados militarmente por las Cortes marciales, y si se declarase que son culpables, aunque sea solo del hecho de pertenecer á la banda, serán condenados á la pena capital que se ejecutará dentro de las primeras veinticuatro horas despues de pronunciada la sentencia.

Art. 2º Los que perteneciendo á las bandas de que habla el artículo anterior, fueren aprehendidos en funcion de armas, serán juzgados por el gefe de la fuerza que hiciere la aprehension, el que en un término, que nunca podrá pasar de las veinticuatro horas inmediatas siguientes á la referida aprehension, hará una averiguacion verbal sobre el delito, oyendo al reo sus defensas. De esta averiguacion levantará una acta que terminará con su sentencia, que deberá ser á pena capital, si el reo resultare culpable, aunque sea solo del hecho de pertenecer á la banda. El gefe hará ejecutar su sentencia dentro de las veinticuatro horas referidas, procurando que el reo reciba los auxilios espirituales. Ejecutada la sentencia, el gefe remitirá la acta de la averiguacion al Ministerio de la Guerra.

Art. 3º [illegible]

Art. 4º [illegible]

Art. 5º [illegible]

I. [illegible]

II. Los que les dieren armas, [illegible]

III. Los que [illegible]

Art. 6º Serán tambien juzgados [illegible]

I. Los que mantuvieren con los [illegible]

II. Los que voluntariamente [illegible] en sus casas ó fincas.

III. Los que vertieren de palabra ó por escrito [illegible] falsas ó alarmantes, con las que se pueda alterar [illegible] contra este cualquier género de [illegible]

IV. Todos los propietarios ó [illegible] que no dieren oportuno aviso á la autoridad [illegible] del tránsito de alguna banda por la misma finca.

Los comprendidos en las fracciones 1ª y 2ª de este artículo, serán castigados con la pena de seis meses á dos años de prision, ó de uno á tres años de presidio, segun la gravedad del caso.

Los que [illegible] comprendidos en la fraccion 2ª, fueren ascendientes, descendientes, cónyuges ó hermanos de [illegible] no sufrirán la pena anteriormente señalada, pero quedarán sujetos á la vigilancia de la autoridad por el tiempo que [illegible] la Corte Marcial.

Los comprendidos en la fraccion 3ª de este artículo, serán castigados con una multa desde 25 á 1,000 pesos, ó con prision de un mes á un año, segun la gravedad del delito.

Los comprendidos en la fraccion 4ª de este artículo, serán castigados con multa de 200 pesos á 2,000.

Art. 7º Las autoridades locales de los pueblos que no dieren aviso á su inmediato superior, de que ha pasado por dichos pueblos alguna gente armada, serán castigadas gubernativamente por dicho superior con multa de 200 pesos á 2,000, ó con reclusion de tres meses á dos años.

Art. 8º Cualquiera vecino de un pueblo que, teniendo noticia de la proximidad ó tránsito de gente armada por el pueblo, no diere aviso á la autoridad, sufrirá una multa de 5 á 500 pesos.

Art. 9º Todos los vecinos de un pueblo amenazado por alguna gavilla, que fueren de edad de diez y ocho á cincuenta y cinco años y no tuvieren impedimento físico, están obligados á presentarse á su defensa luego que fueren llamados, y por el hecho de no hacerlo, serán castigados con una multa de 5 á 200 pesos, ó con prision de quince dias á cuatro meses. Si la autoridad creyere mas conveniente castigar al pueblo por no haberse defendido, podrá imponerle una multa de 200 á 2,000 pesos, y la multa será pagada entre todos los que estando en el caso de este artículo no se presentaron á la defensa.

Art. 10. Todos los propietarios ó administradores de fincas rústicas, que pudiendo defenderse no impidieren la entrada á ellas á guerrilleros ó otros malhechores, ó que en caso de haber entrado no lo avisaren inmediatamente á la autoridad militar mas próxima, ó que recibieren en la finca los caballos cansados ó heridos de las partidas, [illegible] dar parte en el acto á dicha autoridad.

THE NOTORIOUS 'BLACK DECREE' ISSUED BY MAXIMILIAN UNDER THE ADVICE OF HIS MINISTERS

Dated October 3, 1865

una multa de 100 á 2,000 pesos, segun la importancia del caso; y si este fuere de mayor gravedad, serán reducidos á prision y consignados á la Corte Marcial, para que los juzgue con arreglo á esta ley. La multa será enterada por el causante en la administracion principal de rentas á que pertenezca la finca. Lo dispuesto en la primera parte de este artículo, es aplicable á las poblaciones.

Art. 11. Cualquiera autoridad, sea del órden político, del militar ó [illegible], que se desentendiere de proceder conforme á las disposiciones de esta ley contra los que fueren indiciados de los delitos de que ella trata, ó contra los que se supiere que han incurrido en ellos, será [illegible] gubernativamente con una multa de 50 á 1,000 pesos, y si apareciere que la falta es de tal naturaleza, que importe complicidad con los delincuentes, será sometida dicha autoridad por órden [illegible] á la Corte Marcial, para que la juzgue y le imponga la pena que corresponda á la gravedad del delito.

Art. 12. Los plagiarios serán juzgados y sentenciados con arreglo [illegible] de esta ley, sean cuales fueren la manera y circunstancias del [illegible].

Art. [illegible] La [illegible] de muerte que se pronuncie por delitos comprendidos en esta ley [illegible] ejecutada dentro de los términos que [illegible] la [illegible] curso á las [illegible] de indulto.

[illegible] y si sentenciado fuese extranjero [illegible] podrá el Gobierno usar respecto [illegible] para expulsar del territorio de la Nacion [illegible].

Art. [illegible] los que hayan pertenecido [illegible] se presentaren á la autoridad antes [illegible] siempre que no hayan cometido [illegible] la fecha de la presente ley. La autoridad [illegible] á los que se presentaren á acogerse á la [illegible].

Art. [illegible] la facultad de declarar cuándo deban [illegible].

Cada uno de nuestros Ministros queda encargado de la ejecucion de esta ley [illegible] dictando las órdenes necesarias [illegible].

Dado en el Palacio de México á [illegible] de Octubre de 186[illegible].

MAXIMILIANO.

[illegible]

MAXIMILIANO, Emperador de México.

Considerando la necesidad de reformar la planta de la Administracion principal de rentas del Departamento de Matehuala, oido nuestro Ministro de Hacienda,

Decretamos lo siguiente:

Artículo único. La planta de empleados y sueldos de la Administracion principal de rentas del Departamento de Matehuala, será la que sigue:

Administrador con el sueldo anual de	$ 1,[illegible]00
Contador, tenedor de libros	[illegible],000
Un oficial	[illegible]00
Un escribiente	300
Comandante del Resguardo y Visitador	[illegible]
[illegible] celadores montados y armados, á $ 240 cada uno	1,440
	[illegible]

Nuestro Ministro de Hacienda queda encargado de la ejecucion de este decreto.

Dado en México á [illegible] de Setiembre de [illegible].

MAXIMILIANO.

Por el Emperador,

El Ministro de Hacienda,

[illegible]

GRAN CANCILLERIA DE LAS ORDENES IMPERIALES

México, Setiembre [illegible] de [illegible].

S. M. el Emperador [illegible] y bizarría con que se distinguieron los individuos que [illegible] se expresan, en las acciones de guerra habidas en 22, 24, 25, 26 y 30 de Agosto último en Comaltepec y Moncalio, Ha tenido á bien por decreto de 2 del corriente condecorarlos de la manera siguiente:

Cruz de caballero de la Imperial Orden de Guadalupe á

D. Juan de Suppanzigh, capitan de la 11ª compañía de Cazadores austriacos.

Medalla de plata del mérito militar á

José Rodolfo Sporaberger, cadete sargento de la misma compañía.
Gustavo Wittmann, cazador de id. id.
José Kormella, id., id., id.
Rodolfo Stutz, id., id., id.
Jorge de Pospischil, cadete guia, id., id.
Cárlos Regensdorfer, guia, id. id.
Miguel Ignacio, Sargento 1º de auxiliares de Q[illegible]
Antonio Soto, soldado de la columna móvil.

Medalla de bronce del mérito militar á

D. Antonio Pacholik, Teniente de la batería de montaña [illegible] del cuerpo austriaco.
Ricardo Wischin, cadete sargento de la misma batería.
Cárlos Baron, Sauesque, guia de la 2ª compañía de zapadores austriacos.
Ignacio De[illegible]tsch, cadete guia de la misma compañía.
Francisco Reling, zapador de primera clase de id. id.
D. Mariano Castañeda, capitan de auxiliares de [illegible]
D. Miguel Olvarez, Teniente de auxiliares de [illegible]

[illegible]

PARTE NO OFICIAL.

EL DIQUE DE SAN CRISTOBAL

[illegible]

Direccion general de caminos y puentes.—México, [illegible]

[illegible]

SENTENCIA POR HOMICIDIO

[illegible]

plans that had induced them to conspire, at some personal risk, against the Liberals, and to throw the whole of their power and influence into the scales against the Republic. The awakening was a severe blow both to their aspirations and their pride. It seemed as if their position under the monarchy was destined to become worse than it had been under the Republic.

It may be that the pope's unfortunate personal experiences between the years of 1847 and 1850, when he had been at length allowed to return to Rome, from which place he had escaped in the disguise of a lacquey, had embittered him against granting any further Liberal concessions to opponents of his policy ; the influence of Cardinal Antonelli, by which Pius IX. was guided through the later years of his pontificate, was also employed against Maximilian, whose undisguised dislike of Jesuits and their methods was yet another factor in the unfriendliness of the papacy to his rule in Mexico.

Little else, indeed, could have been expected from the author of the notorious *Documenti Officiali*, the *Ineffabilis Deus*, and the ridiculous encylic *Quanta cura* and Syllabus, or list of human errors, calling for special reprobation. The pope's obstinacy and intolerance finally caused the whole of the Papal States to be forfeited to the kingdom of Italy with the exception of the *patrimonium Petri*, and at no time in its history had the Catholic Church sunk so low in the minds of the Mexican nation. His callous indifference to Maximilian and his cause will for ever remain one of the stains upon the thirty-two years' papal sovereignty of Pius IX.

Undoubtedly Monsignor Pelagio Antonio de Labastida y Davalos, Archbishop of Mexico and the head of the Roman Catholic Church, was an able man ; but he was likewise an unscrupulous and scheming cleric, possessed of most of those evil qualities which have caused the artifice of priestcraft to stink in the nostrils of honest-minded men. On account of his great influence as the chief of the religious community, he had been chosen, together with General

Almonte, the former republican and now one of the most effusive of monarchists, and General Salas to form the Council of Regents (with Almonte as President), pending the arrival of Maximilian to take possession of the throne. Almost immediately the archbishop had commenced to quarrel with, and to conspire against his colleagues ; he contributed surreptitiously, but actively, to the numerous intrigues with which the government of the country was then beset, and so unreliable and treacherous was he found by Bazaine in his official capacity that, acting upon his undoubted authority, he quietly but none the less effectively removed Monsignor Labastida from his position on the Council, a fact which was only revealed to the general public by the withdrawal from the doors of the archiepiscopal palace of the guard of honour which had been placed there. Not unnaturally this action upon the part of the French Commander-in-chief further alienated the Church party, and every act performed by the Marshal was misconstrued and its purport distorted. The archbishop went so far as to excommunicate the entire French army during the temporary absence of the Commander-in-chief, but this act was cancelled by Monsignor Labastida, who soon afterwards bestowed upon both Bazaine and his troops a public benediction. That this solemn act meant nothing, however, was proved by the same prelate clandestinely circulating almost at the same time some scandalous pamphlets, in which the French generals and troops were characterised as ‘ the most inveterate enemies of religion and order.’

How indifferently the Mexican clergy regarded their spiritual duties was clearly revealed to Maximilian during his travels in the interior of the country shortly after his arrival in Mexico, and he did not fail to make earnest representations regarding these conditions to the archbishop. On the occasion of his first visit to Queretaro, he was surprised that, from among the notabilities who gathered to greet him, the bishop of the diocese was absent. Upon demanding the reason, he was informed that this prelate, Dr. D. Bernardo Gárate, ‘ was too much occupied with the care of his flock to enable him to leave the capital.' Nevertheless Maximilian learned that whole villages of Indians in the bishop's diocese had never been baptized. The emperor at once ordered a wholesale baptismal ceremony to be performed, standing as godfather to the entire number of newly christened.

Notwithstanding her devotion to the Catholic faith, the Empress Charlotte had never submitted to the dominance of the priesthood, nor had she permitted herself to be influenced by her confessor in any political views or actions. There is, indeed, abundant evidence that she held the clergy somewhat in contempt; a remarkable letter which was written by her in January of 1865, shortly after the arrival of the papal nuncio in Mexico, proves conclusively that this distinguished prelate, at least, had failed to make much impression upon her mind and less upon her reverence. Writing upon this subject, Charlotte says:—

'I do not know whether you are acquainted with the character of the Holy Father (Pope Pius IX.) who has a keen sense of humour, but he has often declared of himself that he possesses the evil-eye (*jettatore*). Well, I am perfectly sure that ever since his envoy set foot on this soil we have had nothing but misfortunes and mortifications, and we all expect a number of others of a worse description in the near future.'

While these ecclesiastical difficulties had to be faced, with their attendant disastrous consequences to the imperial cause, affairs in Mexico had changed for the worse. On the 28th August 1866 Marshal Bazaine returned to Mexico City, where political as well as military affairs had reached a climax. Having learned of the impending departure of the French from the country, the enemies of the monarchy had become increasingly daring, while the supporters of the imperial régime were losing confidence, and, with the treachery typical of the Spanish American, were gradually withdrawing their assistance and preparing to desert altogether. Day by day some fresh town or position was lost or changed over, and Maximilian was at no pains to conceal his irritation and alarm.

In addition to the withdrawal from Matamoras, Monterey, Saltillo and Durango—all considered highly important because they were thickly inhabited and wealthy centres—had occurred the loss of Tampico on 6th August. Maximilian had written, in a sharp note to Marshal Bazaine, 'the taking of this town by the disaffected and the evacuation of Monterey by your orders show me that the results of your operations will prove disastrous to my country. I, therefore, demand in my capacity as sovereign to know definitely what plan you propose to adopt in future, so that I may endeavour to save, if possible, those of my adherents in the provinces which you abandon; my honour exacts that I should not fail in this duty.'

Marshal Bazaine replied in a lengthy communication dated from Peotilles, 12th August, explaining the motives which had prompted his actions, and so far from expressing any regrets or apologies, informed the emperor that 'in conformity with the instructions from France to withdraw the French troops as speedily as possible, it would be necessary to abandon also the towns of Guaymas and Mazatlán.' Meanwhile Tuxpan had capitulated to the Liberals, while even in the emperor's capital a plot was discovered for betraying the city to the Juarists upon a given date.

Maximilian's position had now become almost untenable, and he determined that he would abdicate. The threat had already been uttered more than once, but it had not been fulfilled. The Empress Charlotte had employed the same menace to Napoleon when pleading with him at Saint Cloud for a reversal of his determination respecting the withdrawal of his troops from Mexico. When he had passed his final 'No,' the empress had exclaimed, 'Very well; we shall abdicate.' '*Abdicate*, then,' replied the unmoved Napoleon, and this would, indeed, have been the appropriate time for Maximilian to have done so.

Retiring to Orizaba, on account of the condition of his health, which had for some time been very unsatisfactory, Maximilian commenced his preparations for leaving the country. Marshal Bazaine strongly encouraged his resolution, and offered to escort him to the coast, promising also not to allow any further embarkation of the French troops until the emperor had been safely conducted from Mexico. Writing to the French Minister (M. Béhie) on 8th October, Bazaine had said: 'If he continues obstinately to remain in the country after our troops have left, I fear that without money the Mexicans will desert him, and then a catastrophe is certain to happen. A few days since I had an audience with his Majesty, when I strongly urged him to consent. . . . I will, of course, do the best I can, so that our country may not suffer in reputation from our withdrawal.'

Maximilian had not only to dispense with the assistance of the French troops. In December 1866, Marshal Bazaine and General de Castlenau had written to the emperor pointing out that as he would shortly be abandoned by the greater part of his European forces, he had better reconsider his decision to remain in the country. Maximilian had responded to this communication very briefly:—'Send back the foreign legion,' he wrote, 'and all the French soldiers and others who wish to leave, also the Austrian and Belgian contingents, if they likewise wish to go.'[1]

The King of the Belgians, as might have been expected in view of his close relationship to Maximilian, was anxious to afford every facility for the enlistment of volunteers to serve in Mexico. He issued three royal decrees, dated 8th October, 19th November, 1864, and 10th February 1865, authorising officers and soldiers 'to serve temporarily in the armies of his majesty the Emperor of Mexico.' This permission greatly angered the House of Representatives, and called forth strong denunciations of the Ministers, who, thereupon disclaimed all responsibility, the act being, as they pointed out, that of the sovereign alone. It was originally contemplated to raise 2000 men, but not more than 1200-1500 could be finally enlisted.

---

[1] Despatch sent to Marshal Bazaine from Orizaba, dated 13th December 1866.

Although the United States government objected to the procedure, just as they had protested against the intervention by France, they were accused of having overlooked the fact that at least as many Belgian mercenaries had served in their own ranks during the late war. One Belgian representative (Mynheer Haymans) went so far as to declare that 'if any power could find fault with the Belgians, it would be, least of all, the United States, which had enrolled recruited soldiers everywhere.' This statement was vigorously combated by Mr. H. S. Sanford, the United States Minister at Brussels, but the author persisted in his assertions, and even printed them in his newspaper.

It would have been more difficult to deny the fact that in the month of May 1865, a recruiting office existed at 32nd Street, New York, near the Hudson River, and that here Señor Ortega, a Liberal supporter, with the full knowledge of the American authorities, enlisted American citizens to fight against Maximilian and the French.

Neither could it have been gainsaid that the proprietor of a certain 'Barcelona Hotel,' in New York, acted as agent for the Liberals, and purchased several thousand Springfield rifles for their use, while a brig was fitted out in the Atlantic Dock and sailed with arms and ammunition for the Republicans. From both New York and Philadelphia active enlistment was carried on, apparently without any check or hindrance from the United States authorities.

The unpopularity of the enlistment of Belgians for service in Mexico was undoubtedly widespread in Belgium itself; the public sentiment found expression in many speeches delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, while Mynheer Vleeschouwer, a prominent writer, asked in the course of a much discussed article, published in *Het Nederduitsche Bond*, of 14th June 1865, 'What have we in common with Mexico? Much! Not long ago Mexico was still a free and independent State, with her own government and laws. We Belgians, a people equally independent and free, formed a treaty of friendship and commerce with Mexico. The Mexicans were then our allies, our friends.

But the Emperor of France cannot tolerate liberty or independence anywhere. Even beyond the ocean he endeavours to murder liberty. He sent an army to subjugate the free Mexican people. By force, he has imposed an emperor, and the Mexicans are now bending under the yoke of a foreign country. . . . Belgium must make war on Mexico because our princess is married to the tyrant of Mexico.'

The same critic later on moved an address of the Chamber of Deputies to President Juarez, expressing the strongest sympathy with his cause, deep regret that the Belgian troops had been employed to oppose him, and declaring that they were enlisted under false pretences only as a guard for the princess, now called empress. This resolution was adopted by a large majority.

The terms upon which the Belgian legionaries were enlisted were liberal. The service was for six years (the men actually served less than two), with a bounty of from sixty to a hundred francs for non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and the same amount to be given at the expiration of their service, with a return-passage to Antwerp. Those who remained in Mexico as colonists were entitled—the troopers to about ten acres, the sergeants to about thirty acres of land, and to certain advances for its improvement; this grant of land was to be doubled in the event of their completing a second term of six years' service. The pay, for all grades of legionaries, was considerably higher than that received by the best-paid corps in Belgium.

A proportion of the Belgian troops had proved turbulent and intractable almost from the commencement, notwithstanding the services of certain among their officers who did their utmost to maintain discipline and encourage the men in their duties. The important town of Monterey, for instance, had been left to the safe defence of the Belgians; but they mutinied. In a letter written by Maximilian to Marshal Bazaine, dated from the Castle of Chapultepec, 30th August 1866, he says: 'The state of excitement which exists in the Belgian regiment is proved by the last telegraphic despatch from the officers; it is produced by external causes, viz: the reorganisation which it is necessary it should undergo, and the fact that its officers must embark on 13th September at the latest, the Belgian Government not having granted them an extension of leave. All this induces me to think that it would be desirable and prudent to bring the Belgian regiment for some time either to Mexico City or any neighbouring town; and it would be well to give the necessary orders. You will please give me your opinion upon this question, as disagreeable as it is important.'

As a matter of fact, the King of the Belgians, a brother of the Empress Charlotte, had behaved better than Maximilian thought, for he had given instructions for his officers to prolong their stay in Mexico until the month of April 1867. Unfortunately, the official despatch from Brussels conveying this important permission (bearing date July 1866) and addressed to the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico City, was mislaid for six months, and did not reach its destination—according to the diplomatist in question, who, however, was notoriously inimical to Maximilian—until 21st January following, at which date all but five of the Belgian officers had already sailed for Europe.

On 18th January 1867, a company of Belgians, composed of thirty-five officers and seven hundred and fifty men, whom Maximilian had released from their engagements, mustered at Puebla, marched thence to Vera Cruz, and on the 20th embarked on board the French transport, *Le Rhône*, for Europe.

Maximilian no doubt had been infamously betrayed and scandalously ill-served by both the Belgian and the Austrian volunteers who followed him to Mexico. Many of the former had as stated received a bounty upon enlisting, their service term being for six years' service. Nevertheless when Maximilian offered to release them, practically every one of them accepted him at his generous word, although some had been but a very brief time in the country. These men had been furnished with uniforms, and had received substantial monetary payments in advance, so that their enlistment and training proved a heavy loss. Not one among them returned his bounty money. As to the Austrians, while some, as has been shown, deserted their prince at the earliest opportunity, others deliberately betrayed his cause. The Austro-Belgian legions had capitulated in the actions of Miahuatlan, La Carbonera and Oaxaca almost without a struggle, and they were allowed to leave the country after a very short imprisonment by the direct intercession of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago, who, however, hardly lifted a finger to save Maximilian from being shot at Queretaro.

Before returning to Europe with the remainder of the Austrian corps in January 1867, Lieutenant-Colonel Polak, who also displayed little compunction in deserting his prince in the severest hour of his peril, addressed a letter of fulsome thanks to Marshal Bazaine, therein expressing 'extreme gratitude for your kindly protection, without which the lot of the Austrian corps would have been but a sad one.'

This curiously unmanly and servile communication concluded—'God grant that a time may arrive when we may be permitted to offer proofs of our devotion to your excellency, and our gratitude towards France which has protected us in Mexico, and has overwhelmed us with benefits.' It does not seem to have occurred to this gallant Austrian soldier that it was he and his men who should have protected the Emperor Maximilian, who had paid them well for the use of their swords, but who received in return the meanest of treatment. Upon the mind of a man with Marshal Bazaine's valorous disposition and high sense of soldierly honour, both the conduct of the Austrians in acting so promptly upon his official advice, which he was compelled to offer in accordance with instructions received to that effect from France, and the nauseating expressions contained in this letter must have produced a very unpleasant effect.

Marshal Bazaine had in fact employed his powerful influence to induce the Austro-Belgian officers to act upon the emperor's offer of withdrawal, probably hoping that when he perceived how few of his European troops remained to him Maximilian would consent to abdicate. But in this Bazaine, as he soon discovered, entirely misread the character of the emperor, who could prove obstinate to the limits of contumacy.

Not only was Maximilian ill in health and bitterly distressed at the increasingly perilous position politically, but he had latterly received news from Europe which left no doubt about the hopeless condition of the Empress Charlotte. Easily mollified, the unhappy sovereign had been deeply touched by the tenderness and solicitude shown by Bazaine when he became aware of Maximilian's fresh affliction ; both he and his wife were very sympathetic to Maximilian at this time, and all old sores seemed to have been forgotten and forgiven between them.

The emperor had at last permitted himself to be persuaded by Bazaine to leave Mexico, the date of departure being fixed for 31st October. The commander of the French squadron had been instructed to get ready to receive his Majesty on that date ; the *Dandolo* was to be prepared for his reception. To the surprise and consternation of the Marshal, however, on the preceding day there appeared an official announcement to the effect that 'the emperor had completely recovered his health, and that he had as a consequence abandoned all idea of leaving the country.' At first it was supposed that this inspired paragraph which appeared in the *Gazette*, was purposely intended to deceive the public, and that Maximilian still proposed, as he had assured Bazaine, to quit Mexico secretly and speedily. But the real fact was that the influence of the priest, Father Fischer, had prevailed over that of the soldier, Marshal Bazaine ; Maximilian was too valuable an asset to be lost to the self-seeking cleric, who would have found himself not only without occupation, but possibly in peril of his life, had he remained in Mexico without the protection of the imperial troops.

The weak-minded and vacillating emperor, still dazzled and deceived by the possibility of an empire becoming

GENERAL MIGUEL MIRAMÓN
Maximilian's faithful but weak Mexican
Commander

firmly established, yet once again allowed his resolution to leave the country to be overcome. Between October and December Maximilian changed his mind again and again regarding the same matter, to some declaring his firm resolution to abdicate (notably to Captain Pierren, who saw him at Orizaba on 9th November), while to others (including Marshal Bazaine) he was just as convincing that he intended to remain at his post.

Finally, on 29th November, Maximilian came to a definite conclusion. He had summoned a Council to meet at his lodgings in Orizaba, ostensibly to receive the news of his abdication; instead, he presented the members with the announcement of his intention to remain in Mexico. The news was heralded with joy by his Ministers, who caused the church bells to be rung and the houses of the towns and capitals loyal to the Imperialists to be decorated by day and illuminated by night. Maximilian was profoundly touched, and fondly believed that he had done the correct thing when he finally adopted the policy by deciding to remain and 'govern the country.'

To Marshal Bazaine the decision came as a great blow to his fresh endeavours, for he perceived that not only would Napoleon hold him responsible for what had occurred, notwithstanding his earnest efforts to avert it, but he foresaw clearly the danger attending the sacred person of Maximilian, when the last of the French bayonets had been withdrawn from protecting him. He had, however, done his utmost, and he had failed. The die was cast, and nothing could now be effected to change the issue.

Meanwhile the withdrawal of Napoleon's forces from Mexico continued regularly and persistently. Sonora had been evacuated in September, Mazatlán was given up on the 13th of November, the Liberals under Colonel Corona entering on the 18th, and inflicting upon the wretched inhabitants heavy fines and other punishments, such as had been previously visited upon the equally unfortunate inhabitants of Durango, under the drastic penal law of 25th January 1863. Guadalajara followed on 12th

December, and San Luis Potósi on 23rd December. Many other positions and towns which had been arduously won by the French troops for Maximilian during the previous four years at the cost of numerous valuable French lives and the expenditure of millions of French francs, were either abandoned or were lost in combat; a few surrendered voluntarily to the Juarist troops, and at the close of the year 1866, practically two-thirds of the country were once more subject to the Republican Government.

CHAPTER XXII

Porfirio Diaz continues operations in the south — Attack upon Oaxaca—Career of Porfirio Diaz—Felix Diaz—Continuation of siege —Oaxaca surrenders to Bazaine—Porfirio Diaz a prisoner—His escape from custody—Forey denounces Diaz—Cruelty charges justified—Imperial cause lost in hot-country—General Mendez maintains standard—Fresh commands for Generals Méjìa, Miramón and Marquez.

While town after town had been lost to the Imperial cause in the north and west of Mexico during the year of 1866, General Porfirio Diaz had been maintaining his reputation for aggressiveness in the south. In the month of October, with the aid of twelve hundred men, he had successfully attacked a column of four hundred men near Miahuatlan, to the south of Oaxaca (a town then held by the French under the command of an Imperial Mexican officer, General Oroñas) and completely defeated them. A distinguished French officer, Major Testard, who commanded two hundred and fifty *cazadores*, the whole of the French and Mexican officers of his detachment and the greater number of the French soldiers, were killed; the remainder were made prisoners.

The triumphant Diaz then marched boldly upon Oaxaca, his own native town, with every street of which and with every house therein he was intimately acquainted. The garrison consisted of but three hundred enfeebled and exhausted men, of whom two hundred were Austrians and a small number French. The siege commenced on 5th October, was raised temporarily to enable Diaz to encounter and defeat a relief force of eight hundred men (composed of both Austrians and Mexicans), and was continued on 19th October. General Oroñas capitulated on the 30th, and the whole of the garrison were made prisoners.

The town of Oaxaca, the capital of the State of the same name, lies about two hundred and sixty miles south-east of the capital, and is situated in a beautifully verdant valley abundantly irrigated by a number of rivers, which give it an extraordinary fertility. The imposing Sierra Madre range of mountains cross the whole State, and form an effective framework for the picturesque city which nestles in the hollow of the wide basin. Oaxaca is nevertheless situated at an elevation of nearly two thousand feet above sea level.

It was in this semi-tropical town that Porfirio Diaz had been born in 1830, at which date Mexico had already experienced some nine years of strenuous existence as a Republic. A twelvemonth's freedom from the tyrannical yoke of Spain was succeeded by an empire under Augustin Iturbide, whose ludicrous attempt at monarchy cost him his life. Then came Vittoria's equally ephemeral Constitution, which again was followed by a succession of internecine revolutions, interrupted by occasional combined struggles against the last lingering remnants of Spanish authority.

Thus young Porfirio Diaz was reared amid a turmoil of alarms and excursions, the din of which reached even the remote corner of Mexico wherein he was born.

At a still early age Porfirio determined to quit the cloister for which his pious father and mother had destined him, for the more stirring scenes of the soldier's camp ; he even braved the displeasure of his powerful uncle and guardian José Augustin Dominguez, Bishop of Oaxaca, in arriving at his determination to take up the sword as his profession ; neither could have foreseen that it was to be the hand of this young ex-priest which was to help in perpetuating the separation of the Church from the State, and to keep in stern subjection the once all-powerful influence of Rome in Mexico.

Determined to become a good soldier rather than a bad priest, young Diaz left the Jesuits' seminary at the age of nineteen, by which time he had received a good education, so thorough, indeed, that he had been enabled to give private lessons in Latin to other students, while he also filled the important position of librarian at the Oaxaca Institute of Sciences.

It was the autocratic suppression of education by the tyrant Santa Anna, then President of Mexico, that incited Diaz to join a rebellion against his authority, an act which brought down upon him his proscription and formal condemnation to death. So long as Santa Anna remained in the country the life of the young patriot was in peril; but with the banishment of the former and the advent of the Liberals to power, Porfirio found and seized his opportunity. Diaz fought bravely on the side of Benito Juarez, the Liberal Governor of Oaxaca, who subsequently became Constitutional President of the Republic.

From the time that he had first taken up arms in the defence of liberty, the young soldier led a strenuous and sometimes a perilous existence. He was seriously wounded at the battle of Ixcapa, on 13th August 1857. At this time he was but twenty-seven years of age, and one of the most determined opponents of the Church party to which he had, at one period of his life, belonged. It was at an encounter directed by him against the clerical and conservative revolutionists that he came by his wound, the battle being a hand-to-hand fight carried on with intense bitterness. It was only after an interval of two years that the bullet which had laid him low was found and extracted by an United States naval surgeon.

When the French intervention brought fire and sword once more to his distracted country, Diaz was found in the van as usual, and among the most determined opponents of Napoleon's long-sustained attempt to foist a foreign prince upon the Mexicans as their sovereign.

Long before his complete recovery he returned to his military duties, taking an active and creditable part in defending his native city against the attacks of the Conservative leader Marcelino Cabos. As a reward for his brilliant services, Porfirio Diaz had been made Governor and Military Commander of the State of Tehuantepec.

Then followed the long siege which the Liberal forces were compelled to undergo in the convent of Santo Domingo, and the city, having been abandoned by the local government, Diaz was compelled to make his escape.

Now, having been raised to the rank of captain, the young soldier, almost completely restored to health and strength, soon gathered a following from among his former comrades, and pursuing his old enemy, Cabos—a notorious rebel—defeated him at Jalapa, in Tehuantepec, on 25th February 1858. Soon afterwards also he overcame the fanatical Spanish Carlist Conchado, while at the famous battle of Rancho de las Jicacas (15th April 1859), Diaz won for himself the rank of Commander. At the battle of Mixtequilla in the following June, he was raised to the rank of Colonel.

In this five years' campaign Porfirio Diaz succeeded in winning that great military reputation which enabled him for over a quarter of a century in later life to rule over Mexico with an almost uninterrupted record of success. The French found in him in every respect a foeman worthy of their steel, while he fought and defeated them occasionally with perfect good temper; at no time of his career, even when insidiously tempted to desert his party in order to assume a more commanding one under the Imperial banner, did he lose their esteem or admiration.

It was, then, this gallant, resourceful military leader whom General Bazaine had to face and expel from his well-secured retreat at Oaxaca. The French had already tasted the quality of Colonel Porfirio Diaz's fighting powers, for on the 10th August 1864, a notable encounter had taken place between the Mexican leader who was accompanied by his brother Felix Diaz (nicknamed 'El Chato,' the 'flat-nosed ') their forces consisting of six hundred infantry, five hundred horsemen and three guns. The French made their attack upon the Hacienda of Ayotla, and although they fought with desperation and conspicuous courage, the troops, under the command of Colonel Giraud, were compelled to give way before Diaz's superior numbers. They lost in this encounter five killed and thirty wounded. The Mexicans, however, were likewise heavily punished.

A determined attempt to re-capture Oaxaca, which had been undertaken without receiving the approval of Bazaine, in which Colonel Giraud had been reinforced by the arrival of General Brincourt, proved just as unsuccessful. Diaz, nevertheless, had been shut up in the town, which he had strongly fortified against attack. The situation was very much the same as had been that at Puebla, the investment and fall of which after a wearisome siege by the French has already been described in preceding pages. During the months of September, October and November, the French with the assistance of a number of Mexican *peons* whom they had pressed into their service, worked at road making, so as to facilitate the heavy military operations which they perceived would be necessary in order to ensure the capture of Oaxaca and its gallant defender.

The physical formation of the country rendered the operations exceptionally difficult, huge natural chasms having to be bridged, heavy rock-cutting to be undertaken and swiftly-running rivers to be crossed.

By the end of November some good progress had been made, however, and it was possible to send some of the heavy guns and equipment over the newly-made road. General Courtois d'Hurbal was in charge of the artillery and expeditionary corps which Bazaine (now Marshal), recognising now that the siege was absolutely necessary, had despatched to subdue the defiant town of Oaxaca.

Almost the entire population had quitted their houses, and had taken shelter behind the covered entrenchments. Numerous houses were completely demolished so as to form effective barricades, these latter consisting in some cases of solid masonry walls and parapets, while an old, but still useful, masonry fortress-tower commanded the town and its approaches from all directions. The garrison consisted of over seven thousand men, of whom at least three thousand were regular troops, the remainder being composed of citizens, mountaineers, guerrilla-sharpshooters, peasant-labourers, and a few North American mercenaries, who had found their way there either by accident or design.

Felix Diaz was given command of seven hundred horsemen, and he showed considerable skill in their organisation and equipment. He allowed nothing to interfere with his determination to make his corps as efficient as possible; and to better provide for their maintenance he robbed the richly furnished churches of their gold and silver vessels and ornaments, cut down their handsome bronze bells and threw them into the melting-pot. The less valuable he converted into bullets.

The siege of Oaxaca may be said to have re-commenced in earnest upon 12th December 1864, and by 1st of January the investment was complete. The defenders of the town had not only the French to meet, but a number of guerrilla bands composed of their own countrymen, and who caused them, as well as to the French invaders, an immense amount of trouble. Sorties were made against these bands of desperadoes from time to time, Felix Diaz being usually commissioned to undertake the task of extermination. All who were caught alive were immediately hanged or shot, while the robbers, on their part, showed as little mercy to any luckless individual who fell into their hands. The French troops, under General Mangin, were sent in pursuit of Felix Diaz upon such excursions, but in all cases they failed to effect his capture. On 15th March an encounter took place between the two bodies of troops, but owing to the interposition of a particularly dense fog the enemy was enabled once again to make his escape. The guerrilla warfare continued uninterruptedly, heavy losses being incurred by both sides.

Meanwhile the actual siege of Oaxaca had been pursued with relentless vigour by the French, who maintained a constant and destructive artillery fire. During the night of the 6th February no fewer than four hundred projectiles had fallen in the town. It was not, however, until the 8th of February of 1865, that Colonel Diaz was compelled to surrender. By this time he had lost over two-thirds of his men, while practically every particle of food was consumed and every single piece of ammunition had been expended. The town and the inhabitants were completely exhausted. Porfirio Diaz, convinced that further resistance would be futile, and having employed every human device to avert the inevitable, determined to abandon further resistance.

Unprotected by any flag of truce, or safeguarded with guarantee of personal safety, and in face of the enemy's perpetual fire, Porfirio Diaz, accompanied by Colonels Angelo and Echegaray of his staff, proceeded to the French camp, and demanded an audience with Marshal Bazaine. The French Commander-in-chief received him with cynical courtesy, stating 'he was pleased to observe that he had returned to his promise, and would no more take up arms against his emperor.'

Looking Bazaine clearly in the eye, Diaz made reply: 'M. le Maréchal,' he said slowly and impressively, 'I know of no Emperor of Mexico. I acknowledge no government but that of our glorious Republic, no supreme head but that elected by our people. I have been, and always shall be, entirely opposed to a monarchy, and I shall do, as I have done in the past, everything that lies in my power to defeat it. I have no more men and no more ammunition. That is the sole reason that you see me here now. The town is yours.'

Bazaine then taunted his prisoner with having broken his *parôle* when released at Puebla. Porfirio Diaz reminded him that he had never given his *parôle*, and never would. He further challenged his accuser to prove the contrary, and the Marshal thus provoked sent his secretary, Napoleon Boyer, to fetch the register in which he hoped he might find Diaz's declaration. A careful search failed to bring any such document to light; to his credit be it said, Bazaine then offered his prisoner an ample apology. This friendly act was not forgotten in later days; Diaz was enabled to assist Bazaine in a personal matter as will later on be seen, the performance of which meant many thousands of francs in the pockets of the avaricious Marshal.

Four thousand other prisoners, sixty pieces of cannon and a quantity of additional useful material fell into the hands of the victorious French, who, nevertheless, had had to pay dearly for the five months' stubborn resistance with which they had met. From 1st July 1864 to 1st January 1865 they had been obliged to expend upon their transport arrangements alone in connection with the siege of Oaxaca a sum of 1,866,000 francs (£74,640), which amount was debited to the 'Expeditionary Accounts.' And in little over one year and a half the town so dearly captured was destined to be again lost to the Imperial cause.

The enormous number of prisoners taken at Oaxaca proved a great embarrassment to the French contingent. Marshal Bazaine gave liberty to all those who had been forcibly impressed into the service of the defenders of the town, and who were glad enough to get off so easily; others who belonged to the distant states of Sonora and Sinaloa were sent back under armed escort, and then released. Still others were enrolled in the ranks of the Mexican troops fighting under the banner of Maximilian.

After a few days' rest, necessitated by the extremely arduous five months' siege, Bazaine, with the greater part of his troops, took his departure for Mexico City, a full week's march at that time of the year, and he arrived in the capital on 25th February 1865. Notwithstanding the success which had attended his operations, Maximilian appeared to be but ill-pleased with Bazaine, and in a letter which he addressed to Napoleon (dated February), he demanded the recall of the Marshal from Mexico. It was this feeling of dissatisfaction which induced Maximilian a little later to despatch the Mexican General Woll upon a secret mission to Napoleon.

The Marshal sent his distinguished prisoner Diaz to the military gaol at San Loreta, from which prison he was removed to that of Santa Clara, and finally to the Convento de la Campaña at Puebla.

The French writer, Count Emile de Kératry, has declared in his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Emperor Maxi-*

THE CAPTURE OF PUEBLA, ON APRIL 2, 1867, BY GENERAL PORFIRIO DIAZ

(*From the original oil painting by the Mexican artist, F. Mendoza*)

milian,[1] that 'Porfirio Diaz after the fall of Oaxaca was confined in the fortress of Guadaloupe (he does not say for what length of time) from which any escape was impossible. By order of the Emperor Maximilian he afterwards was placed under the guard of the Austrians, who, having brought him back into the city, allowed him to escape.' This version, however, is incorrect, and the best reason for saying so is the statement made by General Diaz himself.

For the second time the temporarily unsuccessful Liberal leader had found himself a captive in the town from which he had already escaped when in peril of his life. As he passed through the ranks of the enemy's troops, submitting patiently to their coarse gibes and jeers, he was quietly meditating how best he could once again evade his captors. His renewed effort, already determined upon, was rendered fairly difficult by reason of the extra precautions now taken to guard him. It succeeded only after three different plans had been made and abandoned, on account of this great vigilance. It was finally carried out by the prosaic means of a coil of rope, a crawl upon all fours over an unguarded part of the prison roof, and a drop of some ten feet into the street.

Diaz's *sang froid* must have been remarkable even at such an exciting and critical moment in his life, for as he passed swiftly down a dark, unlit thoroughfare, practically deserted at that early hour of the morning of 20th September 1865, he almost fell over a watchman fast asleep at his post. Touching him lightly on the shoulder, Diaz whispered, 'Don't sleep, comrade!' The man, startled and confused, hastily shouldered his musket. 'No, Señor,' he replied apologetically, and hurried along upon his beat without even glancing at the man who had aroused him.

Diaz in after life, when asked about this incident, admitted its truth, but added: 'I did not do it out of bravado: I calculated the exact chances, and came to the conclusion that by thus addressing the sentry, should he be questioned concerning a fugitive, it would never occur to him, nor to his questioners, that a man flying in peril of his life would be fool enough to stop in order to awaken him.' The fact remains that if any pursuit took place it proved ineffective.

---

[1] *The Rise and Fall of the Emperor Maximilian*, translated by G. H. Venables (Sampson Low, Son & Marston), p. 62.

Several substantial money rewards were offered for the recapture of Diaz. Count de Thün, the Austrian general then commanding Maximilian's cavalry, offered a sum of $1000 to any one who would bring Colonel Porfirio Diaz to him, 'dead or alive.' The governor of the district of Matamoras (State of Puebla), Señor Escamilla, also promised the same amount, but neither was ever earned.

It is difficult to understand what feeling of malice prompted General Forey to assert in the French Senate that Porfirio Diaz 'ought to have been shot.' Certainly but few among the French staff operating in Mexico would have endorsed this statement, and Marshal Forey had had but little experience of Diaz even as an opponent, since the operations in which the latter so greatly distinguished himself, earning thereby the unstinted admiration of his enemies, took place after Marshal Forey had been recalled to France.

Porfirio Diaz has been accused by certain Mexican historians of having behaved barbarously to some of his prisoners. The charge has been justified. Many of the Mexican officers who fell into his hands at Miahuatlan and Oaxaca were ruthlessly shot, but the French and Austrians were well—even generously—treated. This discrimination has induced French historians and others who have chronicled the life of General Diaz to pronounce him a 'brave and noble enemy'; the barbarities committed upon his own countrymen have apparently been passed over in silence and as being of no account; but they must find a record here, since it is necessary to speak the truth without fear or favour.

No one holds Porfirio Diaz in higher esteem both as soldier and statesman than the writer; but the General's not infrequent acts of inhumanity towards his compatriots when the fortunes of war placed their lives within his power must be condemned. It may be urged in defence that in shooting his prisoners, Diaz was merely carrying out orders under the law of 25th January 1862, already quoted; that may have been the reason, but it does not provide the excuse.

In the hot-country the Imperial cause had already been lost. In Guerrero, which is at all times a deadly, fever-haunted district, Colonel Ortiz de la Peña had been defeated at Puente de Ixtla, had lost his convoy and ammunition, and had retreated in great disorder to Cuernavaca, where Maximilian had his summer residence. Only one Imperialist leader remained who was capable of maintaining his position, namely, General Mendez, in the State of Michoacán, and even he was completely surrounded by roaming bands of guerrillas. While Marshal Bazaine had for long regarded the situation as very serious from an Imperialist point of view, he had not anticipated a collapse anything like so rapid and so pronounced as that which now occurred in the emperor's fortunes.

The Imperial army had lately, according to an established idea of Maximilian, been divided into three separate commands. General Marquez had been given that of Michoacán and of the country comprised within the States of Vera Cruz, Mexico and Queretaro; General Méjìa was operating in the north, towards San Luis Potósi; General Miramón was in the west, between Zacatecas and Guadalajara. Mexico City, being in the command of Mexico State, was under the orders of General Marquez, who was again proving himself a severe and cruel leader, and, as will be seen later on, a wretched traitor to his adopted and indulgent sovereign.

CHAPTER XXIII

Last days of French occupation—Bazaine counsels abdication—Survey of Imperial position—Dangers indicated—Quarrel between Maximilian and Bazaine—French Commander-in-chief departs without seeing Emperor—Father Fischer's evil influences—Bazaine's services in Mexico—Trying to serve two masters—Maximilian's ingratitude—View of Bazaine's character—Charges of corruption—Strange incident regarding treasure—Bazaine's nephew Adolphe—Departure of last French troops—Bazaine's reception in France—Cost of the French expedition to Mexico.

TOWARDS the last days of the year 1866, Maximilian, as mentioned in a previous chapter, had quitted Orizaba by gradual stages for the capital, arriving there on 5th January 1867. Both General de Castelnau and M. Dano, carrying out the instructions of the Emperor Napoleon, had followed Maximilian from Orizaba to Puebla and from Puebla to Mexico City, in an endeavour to induce him to abdicate, and thus save the French army from the ridicule which the withdrawal from Mexico, without having accomplished anything definite, would inevitably fall upon it. But Maximilian successfully evaded any interview with these pertinacious emissaries, who, in despair, proposed entering into some arrangement with President Juarez with a view to terminating the monarchy. Marshal Bazaine, however, who knew the Indian president well enough to feel convinced that he would consent to hold no communication with any representative of France, dissuaded these disappointed diplomatists from following up their first intentions; indeed, Bazaine found himself in complete disagreement with all of the French representatives then in Mexico, his secret sympathies undoubtedly being then as always with the shamefully ill-used and deluded Maximilian, although he dare display no such sentiments openly. A powerful weapon used against Maximilian's decision to abdicate reposed in the hands of Father Fischer; of this he did not fail to avail himself at the psychological moment. It was a letter addressed to Maximilian by the Empress Charlotte before her departure for Europe, and entrusted to the keeping of the priest. She had foreseen that the time would arrive during her absence when Maximilian, deprived of her dominant influence and disgusted with the intrigues and difficulties surrounding him, would determine upon abdication. The empress's premonition proved justified. Maximilian had resolved upon abandoning the throne which had hitherto proved a veritable bed of thorns ; and perceiving that this was the moment when the letter left in his hands would prove most effective, Father Fischer produced it. The results were all that could have been desired. Maximilian could not resist the strong appeal contained in this epistle, which urged him to remain manfully at his post. Had not his plucky and resourceful wife gone through much trouble and many trials in order to support the throne which they jointly occupied ? How could he do less than retain it, pending the result of her self-imposed mission to France ? The priest's admonitions as to the duty of fealty and self-sacrifice sealed the matter, and finally overcame all lingering hesitation. Thus the die was cast.

Maximilian was finally compelled to see General de Castelnau, finding that the latter would take no denial ; and on the 20th December the emperor consented to formally receive the General and the French Minister, M. Dano. Both, however, entirely failed to shake the determination of his Majesty to remain in Mexico, to which end their visit had been paid ; and in a private conversation between Maximilian and General de Castelnau after the formal interview had been concluded, the emperor declared that, at this crisis, his abdication would be improper and inexpedient ; he had appealed in his manifesto to the will of the nation, and found himself compromitted to abide by their decision as to his continuance in power with the monarchical form of government. He admitted to General de Castelnau that the Congress he had convoked, should it ever assemble, might resolve to change the form of government, might possibly even elect Juarez ; in that event he would have no objection to resign the powers confided to him by the Mexican people, and to retire from the country ; still further, he would accept a peaceful solution, could the Juarez Government, through the mediation of the United States, be brought to unite with him for its attainment.

On 11th January Maximilian summoned Marshal Bazaine to meet him and the president of his Council, Señor Larès, at an important conference. Bazaine attended ; but instead of finding the emperor, he was confronted with a full assembly of ministers, the archbishop and bishops and councillors of state, as well as a number of Mexican generals. At a loss to comprehend the situation, the Marshal at first resolved to retire ; but fearing to create a painful impression, he eventually determined to remain and face the issue.

The assembly proceeded to debate, with much heat and acrimony, the question whether the empire should continue or be abandoned. According to both the optimistic Ministers of Finance and of War, everything was ready for the prosecution of the war after the French had departed, 'they had the money, as much as 8,000,000 *pésos* ; they had 25,000 men at present under arms ; what was there then to prevent the Imperialist cause from triumphing ? '

Each member of the Council had something to say, *pro* or *con* ; the archbishop and the bishop of San Luis Potósi alone remained silent. The majority of those present were in favour of continuing the monarchy.

Unmoved by these arguments, however, Marshal Bazaine addressed the meeting at some length, saying precisely what he would have said had the emperor himself been present. In fact he had written his address before coming to the conference, and this he now read aloud to the other members. It proved to be a strongly-worded expression of advice to forthwith abandon any further attempt to establish a form of government which was obviously unacceptable to the greater part of the Mexican nation. The speaker cited among his reasons the threatened interference of the United States, and he painted in lurid colours the 'unspeakable calamity' which would follow any further aggressions by that powerful northern neighbour; he dwelt upon the inadequate strength of the Imperial forces to combat either the Americans or the Liberals singly, much less the two combined; and he pointed out the difficulty of maintaining any successes achieved at the point of the sword, owing to the immensity of the country to be covered and the demoralising effect of these perpetual struggles upon the commerce and industry of the State.

These citations referred to the military objections, but the financial considerations were no less serious. There were no funds available for the carrying on of a Government apart from that of the Republic, which was, after all, the constitutional administration; it was practically impossible to raise any further funds from the already overburdened people, while the formerly wealthy owners of property were now almost ruined.

Then, again, from the political point of view, concluded the Marshal, the greater part of the people had always been pro-republican; he was very doubtful whether, even if a referendum were to be taken, the response would be in any way favourable to the continuance of the monarchy. It seemed to him, then, impossible that Maximilian could continue to govern a country under such abnormal conditions, and it would be to the credit and honour of the sovereign to release him from a situation which had become as perilous as it was insurmountable.

If this oration pleased the assembly but little, it satisfied Maximilian (when he heard of it) still less. In fact it precipitated the inevitable rupture between the Marshal and the Emperor, and when Bazaine received a courteous request from Señor Larès to attend a new conference, he point-blank refused. The Marshal informed the President of the Council that inasmuch as it seemed whatever he said or proposed was maliciously distorted and misconstrued, and since insinuations against his loyalty to the emperor were continually indulged in, ' he declined then or at any future time to have any communication with his majesty's ministers.'

Marshal Bazaine's letter addressed to Señor Larès was dated from Mexico City, 27th January 1867, and read as follows :

'I have received your letter of the 25th instant. I might well confine myself to merely acknowledging the receipt of it, because I do not admit that you can address me at your will, and also because your letter treats of matters which have been already settled, both in writing and also by former conferences.

'In my replies to you or to the various Under Secretaries of State, your excellency will find the explanation you desire.

'You appear to accuse the French army of want of energy—have not I a much greater right to exclaim against the arbitrary acts and deeds of violence which have been daily committed for some weeks past, and does not our presence in Mexico appear to render the flag of France an accomplice in these proceedings ? For this reason, Sir, and because the wording of your letter betrays a feeling of mistrust undoubtedly based upon calumnies which affect our honour, I consider it necessary to state to you that I do not wish to have any further communication with your ministry.'

This bitter quarrel became Father Fischer's longed-for opportunity, and he did not neglect to avail himself of it. The attitude assumed by Marshal Bazaine was further distorted by this wily and malevolent priest, whose influence with Maximilian—seldom for good, but frequently for evil—induced the latter to take a severe view of the Marshal's communication addressed to Señor Larès. With or without the emperor's directions, Marshal Bazaine received an epistle, dated ' 28th January, 7 P.M.' in which Father Fischer wrote :

'His Majesty the Emperor instructs me to return to you the accompanying letter [his own, addressed to Señor Larès] since he cannot permit you to address such communications to his ministers as you have chosen to send. Since you have adopted such methods, I am commanded to inform your excellency that

GENERAL MARIANO ESCOBEDO
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE MEXICAN (LIBERAL) ARMY

for the future His Majesty can hold no direct communication with you.'

One can imagine with what spiteful satisfaction the machiavellian Imperial Secretary despatched this letter to the Marshal, knowing full well the pain which its receipt would occasion him on account of his deeply wounded dignity, and the real affection which he bore for Maximilian's person.

Thus, after four years' unceasing devotion to the Imperial cause in Mexico, were Marshal Bazaine's services requited. *L'ingratitude attire les reproches*, but Bazaine had had none for the emperor, whose gentle disposition he knew could never have prompted, while his sense of justice would not have allowed him to approve, the despatch of such a communication to an old, tried and loyal servant.

Bazaine had probably at no time more effectively displayed the humaneness of his character and the depth of his resourcefulness than when the mean-minded ministers (Larès, Marin and Tavera) who formed Maximilian's Cabinet in the autumn of 1866, threatened to resign if the emperor—just then in receipt of the crushing intelligence that his unhappy wife had lost her reason—left the capital. The President of the Council, who was Señor Larès, wholly unmoved by the monarch's mental distress, informed Maximilian that he and his colleagues would hand in their portfolios immediately his Majesty left the city, adding, 'and there will no longer be any government.' There can be no question that he would have been as good as his word, and that Maximilian would have been unable to seek the much-needed period of rest at Orizaba, but for the prompt and vigorous action of Marshal Bazaine. In unmistakable language the French Commander-in-chief, after denouncing Larès and his colleagues as 'wanting in both loyalty and humanity,' informed them that if they persisted in their determination to throw up their portfolios 'he would adopt certain measures towards them.' What those measures were likely to be he left to their imaginations ; as a matter of fact the Marshal could have done but little, since he had received strict injunctions from the

Tuileries forbidding him to interfere in any way with the civil government of Mexico. But Señor Larès knew nothing of this, and the threat proved sufficient ; for, thoroughly frightened and cowed, he hastened to assure the Marshal that 'both he and his brother ministers were only too happy to continue to discharge their accustomed duties.'

The Marshal's detractors saw in this action upon his part less desire to assist Maximilian in his great mental distress, than a repugnance to bear the additional burden of civil government upon his own shoulders, at a time when—according to the information which he possessed—all parties in Mexico were on the point of rising against the foreigners, and threatening to massacre both them and all isolated French troops. Whatever may have been the reason which prompted Bazaine's vigorous and prompt measures, he succeeded in once more, if only temporarily, saving the situation for the unhappy sovereign whose service he had entered.

He had practically to remodel the ragged and undisciplined Mexican army ; that he eventually succeeded in converting this rabble into something like a respectable force is perhaps one of the clearest proofs of his soldierly capacity and his conscientious devotion to duty. The result was certainly not easily achieved.

Undoubtedly Bazaine incurred much odium with Maximilian, by reason of the fidelity with which he carried out the harsh instructions imparted by his Imperial master in France. Bazaine was first and foremost a soldier, trained to obey implicitly, no matter how repugnant his instructions ; and we know as a fact that in the case of Maximilian, for whom he entertained a genuine esteem and friendliness, the orders transmitted to him regarding French policy and action must have proved repugnant in the extreme.

Upon his part Maximilian would have found it difficult to differentiate between the individual who passed the orders and the faithful servant who carried them into execution. It sufficed that Bazaine stood for trouble and disaster, for continual opposition and threatening, for the predestined failure of the whole Imperial enterprise.

Neither, through the whole course of their personal relations, intensely strained as they became towards the end, is there any evidence of Bazaine having attempted to exculpate himself from blame or reproach on account of his course of action or enforced antagonism. It is difficult to withhold a degree of sympathy from the blindly obedient soldier who was made to play the part of the flail in the hands of Napoleon.

It is obvious that Bazaine had, over a long period, satisfactorily carried out the Mexican policy of Napoleon's Government from the fact that, on 5th November 1864, he had had conferred upon him by Imperial decree the marshal's batôn.

When he could no longer tarry in Mexico, nor further delay his return to France, to which country he had been repeatedly summoned, conscious nevertheless that he had done all that lay in his restricted powers to serve Maximilian, and no doubt equally aware that he had been wholly unsuccessful in creating a favourable impression, the Commander of the rapidly departing French forces sought for a last interview with the emperor. Thanks to the machinations of Bazaine's arch-enemy, Father Augustin Fischer, this interview was denied him. Painful as must have been the news of refusal, it could scarcely have come as a matter of surprise to Bazaine, for in what light, and with what sort of feelings, could Maximilian have regarded this representative of France ?

The emperor must have been fully conscious that, some time before Bazaine had been finally summoned to return home from Mexico, he had been virtually superseded by General de Castelnau, an aide-de-camp to Napoleon III., who had arrived in the country towards the beginning of October (1866), and who was charged by his imperial master with the mission of 'compelling' Maximilian to abdicate.

No doubt many questions which arose between Maximilian and Bazaine might have been discussed in a more conciliatory spirit, although the results would probably have been the same in the end; by friendly conversations rather than by formal correspondence. But Maximilian did not encourage the Marshal to visit him too often at the palace, for the reason that he had been advised (probably by Father Fischer) that visits from the French Commander-in-chief were calculated to cause a bad impression among the Mexican officers.

It may be urged that Maximilian evinced but a very poor appreciation of the long and faithful service which Bazaine had rendered to him, and that he might well have accorded him at least a ceremonious, if not an affectionate, farewell interview. Such would have been but judicious, and there is reason to believe that in spite of his repeatedly expressed pleasure at the departure of the French (after incessantly and earnestly requesting Napoleon to allow them to remain) and at the lifting of what he now termed the 'French yoke,' Maximilian regretted his harsh and ungracious refusal to see Bazaine before he finally turned his face homewards.

Captain J. J. Kendall, late of H.B.M. 44th and 60th Regiments, who was for some time in the service of Maximilian, has declared: 'I cannot but condemn the conduct of Marshal Bazaine during the latter portion of his sojourn in the country. He doubtless had instructions to do all he could to induce Maximilian to abdicate, but he overstepped all bounds, not only of diplomacy and of the laws of nations, and also of good conduct upon the part of an officer and a gentleman, to say nothing of the dignity of a Marshal of France. Several pieces of cannon that he could not take with him, were spiked at the gates of Mexico City: an immense quantity of surplus small arms and ammunition were thrown into the [Vega] Canal. On the morning before he left the city he is said to have gone to the emperor, and demanded some paltry sum due for the lodging money of his officers, threatening if immediate payment were not made to sell by public auction the cannon belonging to the Mexican army then in the city.'

In making this latter statement Captain Kendall is obviously incorrect. It is certain, as has been shown, that Marshal Bazaine did not see Maximilian 'on the morning before he left the city,' nor, indeed, for several days anterior to his departure, for Maximilian, brooding over his betrayal at the hands of the French emperor, and deeply distrusting all Frenchmen, and Marshal Bazaine in particular, had remained, like another Achilles, sulking in his tent.

Bazaine's last communication but one with Maximilian was in the form of a lengthy explanatory letter, dated 28th January 1867, in which he bitterly laments the offensive attitude towards him taken up by the emperor's ministers. The Marshal concludes his complaint by stating: 'I have acquainted the President of the Council [Señor Larès] that looking at the language of his letter, I do not wish for the future to hold any direct communication with the administration of which he is the president.' To this letter, again acting upon the damaging advice of Father Fischer (now acting as his private secretary), Maximilian had sent the reply already referred to.

Indirectly, however, the news that Maximilian had no further desire to see him was conveyed to Bazaine in a letter (dated 1st February 1867), addressed by the same Father Fischer to General Osmont, the former minister, in which he observed: 'You are not ignorant that the line of conduct pursued during the last few days by Marshal Bazaine has had this final result, that his majesty has determined, much to his regret, to break off all intercourse with the Marshal.' And thus ended Bazaine's official connection with Mexico after a period of over four years, a connection which commenced with his arrival in September of 1862, and terminated in February of 1867.

On the 5th February 1867, Marshal Bazaine placed himself at the head of the few remaining French troops in Mexico City *en route* for their own country. Three days before he had issued a short proclamation addressed to the Mexican people, in which he referred to the friendly relations which had existed, almost—he said 'entirely'—unbroken between the Mexicans and the French in the capital. In bidding them farewell, he offered his best wishes for their future happiness and welfare, pointing out that the efforts of the French army had been wholly directed to preserving peace in the interior of the country, and he begged them to believe that no other object had ever been present to the minds of the French. He concluded with the oft-repeated assurance that it never was and never would be the intention of France to impose any government upon the Mexicans contrary to their wishes.

Inasmuch as the French troops were on the point of leaving practically defeated over this very object, after endeavouring for five years to accomplish it, the Marshal's pronouncement savoured somewhat of the inconsistent. The worst feature of this edict, however, undoubtedly lay in the total abstention from any mention of the Emperor Maximilian—either by name or by inference. It could have arisen only by deliberate intent that this unworthy slight was cast upon the person of the sovereign, for whom Marshal Bazaine had professed to entertain—and undoubtedly did cherish—a warm affection and regard. Even allowing for the bitterness of his feelings aroused by Maximilian's refusal to hold any further direct communication with the Marshal after the latter's quarrel with his ministers, it is difficult to excuse such a wholly unworthy exhibition of rancour as this omission provides.

On 15th February Bazaine had arrived once more at the city of Puebla, remaining there for five days, hoping that Maximilian might yet join him, or at least send to him some farewell message. Then he proceeded on his way to Vera Cruz, where the French transport *Souverain* was waiting to convey him to France.

The remaining French troops reached Orizaba on 20th February, quitted that town on the 26th, and arrived at Vera Cruz on 1st March. It had occupied some weeks to collect the various columns scattered about the interior of the country, and for them to reach the port of embarkation; but by far the greater portion had arrived and had taken ship to Europe by the first day of the month (March), the last arriving on the 10th and embarking on the following day. Altogether, between the 18th of February and the 11th of March, there had been embarked—upon 30 transports and 7 steamers belonging to the Compagnie Transatlantique des Paquebôts—169 staff officers, 1264 junior officers, 27,600 troops, or a total of 28,693 with 351 horses. (A few had previously departed in December, but these did not exceed 920 officers and men all told.) Of this total there were 8 staff officers, 104 junior officers and 2794 men belonging to the Belgian and Austrian contingents.

Before the French withdrew from Mexico the emperor's private secretary, M. Edouard Pierron, a Frenchman, had resigned his appointment, since, as he pointed out with considerable reason, 'it was no longer compatible with his duties as a French subject and officer.' It was then that Maximilian made the great mistake of replacing M. Pierron by the discredited and unfrocked German priest, Father Augustin Fischer.

Bazaine's crowning misfortune was awaiting him upon his return to France. Upon the arrival of the transport at Toulon, instead of the cheers which he had some reason to expect from the assembled multitude, he was greeted with a sullen, chilling silence, which later on gave place to open jeers and threats of personal violence. At first he was at a loss to understand the meaning of this hostile greeting, so different from the attitude adopted at the time of his departure. But the solution was soon forthcoming. The Emperor Napoleon had issued instructions that all honours such as were due to him as a marshal of France were to be withheld, a petty and unworthy act, which reflected as much discredit upon the French army as a whole as upon the unfortunate object of it. The intelligence becoming known among the rabble of Toulon, the Marshal's return after five years' absence was made the occasion of one of those shameful episodes to which Frenchmen occasionally lend themselves. Napoleon's generous recognition of services, rendered both in Africa and in Mexico, was again exemplified; Bazaine was merely one more victim added to an already lengthy list.

Unfortunately there existed another side to the character of Marshal Bazaine which has to be recorded, and which pictures him in a somewhat painful light.

It becomes difficult to account for certain acts performed towards the end of his service in Mexico, and it is scarcely surprising that some historians (mainly writing from actual knowledge gained in Mexico) should have suspected him of untrustworthiness. How, for instance, it has been asked, was it possible to account for his possession of a sum of money amounting to '22,000 ounces of gold,'[1] found concealed in his personal baggage, a portion of which had been accidentally cut off by some Liberal troops near El Paso del Macho?

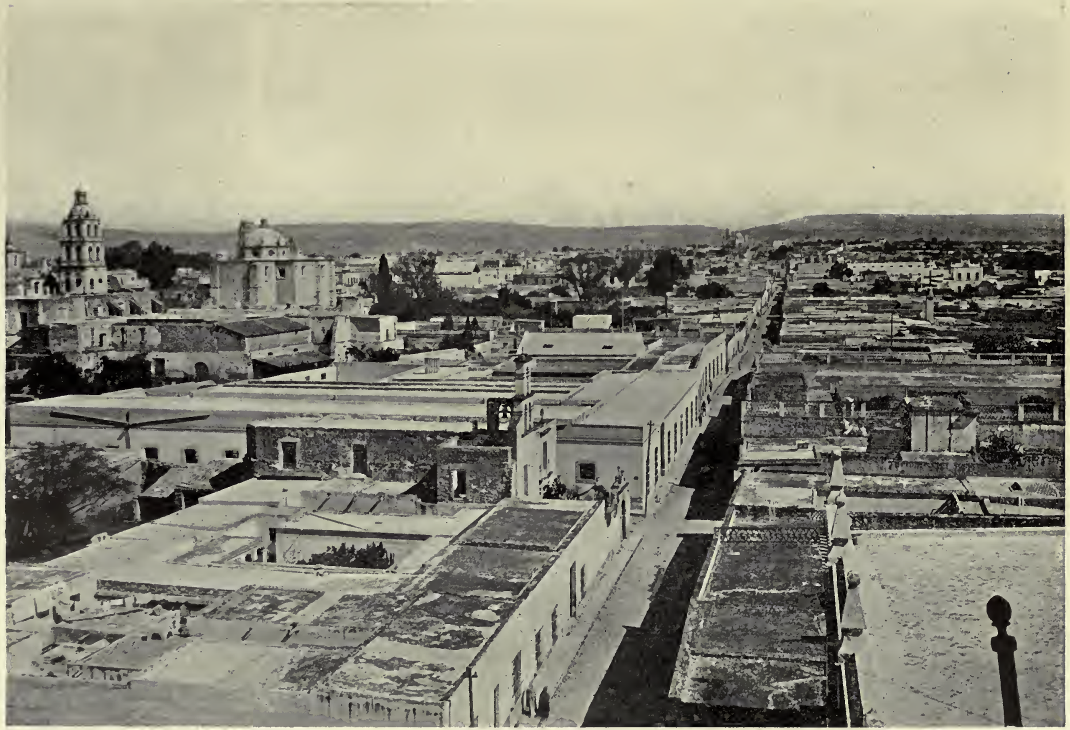
There exists little doubt that this considerable amount of treasure was actually discovered, since correspondence—which is still in existence among the archives of the Mexican Government—passed in which Bazaine makes a claim against the Liberal Government for compensation on account of his loss. General Porfirio Diaz, who had provided the Marshal with an escort to the coast upon his departure from Mexico, not only acknowledged the justice of the claim, but, upon receiving it, at once had the missing treasure traced and, when found, returned to Bazaine upon the day following.

A secret understanding between the retiring French Commander-in-chief and the Liberal forces, against whom he was supposed to be still directing operations, must assuredly have existed in order to have brought about so signal a service. The connection of Bazaine's wife with the family of the Liberal President, already referred to, was not overlooked by his critics.

Neither were these the only suspicious occurrences which gave rise to strictures upon the Marshal. M. Adolphe Bazaine, a nephew, then travelling in Mexico, was in constant communication with his uncle; the former appa-

---

[1] One ounce of gold=£3. 17s. 6d.



THE TOWN OF QUERETARO AS IT APPEARED IN 1867

rently enjoyed perfect freedom in passing through the ranks of both the Liberal and the Imperial forces. M. Adolphe Bazaine was engaged upon some private speculations of his own, and presumably upon others for his uncle : it would seem that the large amount of gold treasure referred to must have been a part of the proceeds, from which fact it may be inferred that the speculations were exceptionally successful. It is established equally beyond a doubt that François Achille Bazaine returned to France in 1867 a relatively rich man, whereas he had left it in 1862, a comparatively poor one. It was no less odd that the traitor Colonel Miguel Lopez, who subsequently betrayed Maximilian as Judas had betrayed the Saviour for a handful of silver, should have been a relative of Bazaine by marriage, namely, uncle of the Marshal's Mexican wife.

Thus ended the most unsuccessful of the several French distant expeditions. Whereas the Chinese War (in alliance with England) of 1858-1860 had resulted in an advantageous occupation of Pekin ; the campaign of Cochin China (in alliance with Spain) of 1862 had likewise secured certain beneficial effects ; and the Syrian expedition (in harmony with all of the Christian powers) of the same year, did much to relieve the Christians of that part of the Turkish dominions, the Mexican enterprise ended in nothing but political humiliation and financial loss. Apart from the heavy sacrifice of human life, the expedition had cost France about 300,000,000 francs and the complete suspension of the valuable trade with Mexico which had been enjoyed before the war broke out. The widespread ruin occasioned among those private investors who had subscribed to the two large Mexican loans has also to be taken into consideration.

The cost of the Mexican expedition to France has been computed to a franc, and may be summarised as follows :—

Year.	War Department.	Navy Department.	Treasury Department.	Total.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
1861 .	...	3,200,000	...	3,200,000
1862 .	27,119,000	35,902,000	379,000	63,400,000
1863 .	72,012,000	24,606,000	1,001,000	97,619,000
1864 .	51,732,000	15,667,000	1,675,000	69,074,000
1865 .	29,342,000	10,583,000	1,480,000	41,405,000
1866 .	41,792,000	13,798,000	9,567,000	65,157,000
1867 .	9,993,000	13,117,000	200,000	23,310,000
Total, .	231,990,000	116,873,000	14,302,000	363,165,000

Receipts in 1864.

	Francs.
Six months of Annual Reimbursement as per Treaty of Miramar, ...	12,500,000
On account of the Vera Cruz (Mexican) Railway, . .	1,500,000
Proceeds of the Sale of 47,625 Mexican Imperial Bonds, .	14,287,000
Arrears of payment due on Bonds, ...	5,400,000
Total in 1864, . .	33,687,000

Receipts in 1865.

	Francs.
Annual reimbursement as per Treaty of Miramar, . .	25,000,000
Arrears, etc., ...	2,700,000
Total in 1865, . .	27,700,000

Receipts in 1866 and 1867.

	Francs.
Drawn from Mexican Customs, ...	588,000
Grand total of Receipts, .	61,975,000

According to this statement the excess of outlay over receipts amounts to 301,190,000 francs without taking into account the proportion of the 31,713,000 francs extraordinary expenses, which by right belong to the Mexican Budget. Some critics add to this total for loss of material another 22,500,000 francs up to the end of 1864, and a further sum of 20,000,000 francs for bringing home the expeditionary corps.

CHAPTER XXIV

Maximilian's reduced forces—Emperor leaves for Queretaro—Places himself at the head of his army—His military incapacity—General Marquez appointed Chief-of-staff—Maximilian's entourage—Dangers of his position—Public reception—Liberals remain unobtrusive—General Mariano Escobedo—Imperial headquarters at La Cruz—The convent—Preparations for defence—Colonel Miguel Lopez—His past career—Maximilian's infatuation—Council of war—Marquez receives instructions.

From the day that the last of the French and other foreign troops quitted Mexico the affairs of the empire collapsed with an amazing rapidity and completeness. With his increasing difficulties Maximilian seemed to become more and more hallucinated. He had permitted himself to be deluded by the fatuous promises of his ministers, both with regard to the number of Mexican troops who could be depended upon (whose numbers they had computed at 25,000, whereas they probably numbered fewer than 17,000), and to the condition of the treasury. So far from this containing '8,000,000 *pésos*' as the Minister of Finance had confidently assured the emperor, at this date it contained less than 1,000,000 *pésos,* while the indebtedness exceeded 60,000,000 *pésos.*

Notwithstanding the painful disruption of his personal intercourse with the emperor, Marshal Bazaine, upon hearing of the severe defeat sustained by General Miramón near Zacatecas, on 12th February, had written to Maximilian offering to attend him and to confer upon the situation, at the same time again urgently counselling him to quit the country where, by now, all hope of his establishing his throne had disappeared.

The emperor did not reply personally, but he informed the French Minister—M. Dano—that 'so far from having any intention of leaving Mexico, he was going to Queretaro to take personal charge of his army.'

Although Maximilian was more adapted by experience and temperament to take a naval than a military command, he placed himself at the head of his army on the occasion of the march to Queretaro, and he remained in supreme command during the whole of the long siege (69 days) which followed. Unfortunately for him and the cause of the empire generally, the emperor possessed absolutely no intuition which would guide him in choosing his officers, and he made the initial mistake of trusting any one who presented a pleasing exterior or who was possessed of ingratiating manners. Among the most unfortunate instances of this poor judgment were the commands entrusted to General Leonardo Marquez, one of the most consummate of hypocrites and unprincipled of officers, and to General Miguel Miramón. These two appointments may be regarded as having contributed more than anything to Maximilian's downfall. As will be seen later on, Marquez deliberately betrayed and deserted him, while Miramón, by his lack of discernment and unwarranted optimism, led the Imperial troops into positions from which it was impossible to extricate them, while he induced his sovereign to abandon an elaborately-conceived and no doubt perfectly feasible scheme for escape when every wise counsel pointed to his adopting it.

On 17th February 1867, while at San Juan del Rio, Maximilian, by proclamation, nominated General Marquez his Chief-of-staff, and divided his diminished but still effective army into three corps. The command of the first (the infantry) was entrusted to General Miramón, the second was left in the hands of Marquez, and the third (cavalry) was given to General Méjìa, when as a sounder proceeding the whole of the army should have been placed under the command of the latter, who was the most intellectual as well as the most thoroughly reliable officer in the Imperial army.

General Miramón's infantry were composed of two Divisions under General R. Mendez and General S. Castillo. Both of these officers were half Indian by birth, small, delicate and wholly incompetent men, but brave and honest in their dealings with the Imperial cause. General Méjìa's was the cavalry command, while the artillery was entrusted to Colonel Arellano.

The foreign legion had now been reduced to the hussar regiment commanded by Colonel von Khevenhüller, all the troopers in which were Austrians, and a battalion of between four hundred and five hundred men (also Austrians) commanded by Major von Hammerstein. Count Wickenburg commanded the Municipal Guards, while Major Gerloni and Major Czismadai commanded the *cazadores*—all foreigners—with eight rifled guns.

The army which followed Maximilian into Queretaro was composed of detachments of eleven different corps. The best troops among them were the Municipal Guards of the city and the valley of Mexico, on foot and mounted; there were also the Espladores of the valley of Mexico, and the small detachment of Colonel von Khevenhüller's regiment of cavalry. The equipment was poor, and the six hundred men who answered to the roll-call were provided with nothing better than eighteen smooth-bored guns.

Here, then, in Queretaro we find Maximilian on 19th February 1867. To the supposedly safe retreat offered by this wholly exposed town there had already fled General Miramón, after his severe defeat at the hands of the Liberals under General Escobedo; General Liceaga, who had met with almost as great a disaster at the hands of the Republican Colonel Rincón Gallardo, had also proceeded thither, and there likewise had arrived General Méjìa. The entire Imperialist army there concentrated now amounted to nine thousand men, with forty-one pieces of cannon.

The remainder of the Imperial troops were distributed as follows: five thousand were protecting Mexico City, and two thousand five hundred were at Puebla, acting under the orders of General Noriaga. A small garrison loyal to the Imperial cause still remained at Vera Cruz, while the six hundred Austrian cavalry commanded by Colonel von Khevenhüller, who had not joined their compatriots in their flight from Mexico, together with the few hundred foot-soldiers commanded by Major von Hammerstein, were the only other troops upon whom Maximilian could now rely.

Before quitting his capital, as it proved for the last time, Maximilian had appointed General Marquez chief of his staff to accompany him to Queretaro. He left the whole of the affairs of government in the hands of a Council of Ministers, of whom Señor Larès was still the president, notwithstanding the fact that Maximilian—and with good reason—deeply distrusted him. General O'Horan was made Political Prefect, and to General Tavera had been entrusted the command of the garrison.

On the other hand, the Liberal ranks had become considerably swelled, and amounted to fully four times the number of the Imperialists. General Mariano Escobedo commanded the main body, consisting of 12,000 men; Colonel Coroña had 8000; General Regules another 6000; Colonel Rivas Palacios, 7000, and General Porfirio Diaz, 8000; while, in the districts of Huasteca, Vera Cruz, Alatorre, Juan Francisco, Benavides, García, etc., a number of well-equipped contingents were quartered, awaiting the fall of the second empire—now close at hand.

When Maximilian had quitted his capital, where he was comparatively safe, for the town of Queretaro, where he became hemmed in upon all sides, he had adopted the advice of General Marquez. The latter had also pointed out to him that it would be 'better for the cause' to leave behind all foreign troops and foreigners attendant upon his Majesty, since 'if he showed the Mexicans that he had implicit confidence in them by leading them upon an expedition, and that he did not rely solely upon his foreign troops, he would for sure attach them to his person, and a feeling of enthusiasm would rapidly spread through the country, bringing in thousands daily to his standard.'[1]

---

[1] *Mexico Under Maximilian,* by J. J. Kendall, pp. 225-26.

Acting upon this perilous advice, the emperor had brought with him none but the few foreign troops mentioned above, his physician Dr. Basch, his secretary Señor José Luis Blasio, and his faithful Hungarian cook Tudos, who was also to act in the capacity of body servant. Out of his considerable stable equipment, Maximilian selected two horses for his own use, leaving instructions that the remainder, together with all the saddlery, harness and liveries, were to be sold, and the money to be utilised to defray his personal debts.

Queretaro is the capital of the State of the same name, and, at the period that Maximilian occupied it, possessed a population of between 40,000 and 50,000. In appearance the town presents the form of an almost regular quadrangle of about 2400 metres in length by 1200 in width. It is built in a valley, which can easily be reached by cannon-shot from the hills. To the north lies the small suburb of San Luis, with many attractive gardens descending the side of the hill, which is here about 150 metres high, and known by the name of Cerro San Gregorio. A yet loftier eminence, the Cerro San Pablo, runs north from San Gregorio in a parallel direction, and is separated from it by a valley of some 1100 metres in width. Other hills surround the town, divided from one another by small plains. Upon one of the eminences rises a hillock called the Cerro de la Campaña (Hill of the Bells) completely overgrown with cactus and other semi-tropical plants. It was upon this small, isolated hillock that the emperor afterwards suffered.

Clearly, then, no worse place than this city of Queretaro, from the point of view of a defence against artillery attack, could well have been selected. Every house stood out conspicuously from a distance, forming an admirable mark for even an unpractised gunner stationed upon the surrounding hills. Maximilian had made no preparations to occupy these positions of vantage, leaving them entirely in the hands of the Liberals. Feeling sure of their prize, therefore, these latter had at first made no attack upon the town, nor did they even trouble to approach near to it, maintaining, nevertheless, a rigid watch without, thus preventing any one within from leaving the place although they could not control reinforcements reaching it.

The city of Queretaro had always been pro-Maximilian, and when the small imperial procession arrived upon the morning of 19th February, it was received with expressions of enthusiasm upon the part of the loyal population. The assembly of Imperialist generals—Miramón, Escobar, Méjìa, Castillo, Arellano, Valdez and Caranova—were present to meet their sovereign. The two former presented a 'humble address,' which much gratified the easily flattered emperor. As he passed through the gaily decorated streets, for the people had voluntarily decked out their houses with brightly hued streamers and draperies, no premonition could have come to him that he had entered his death-trap.

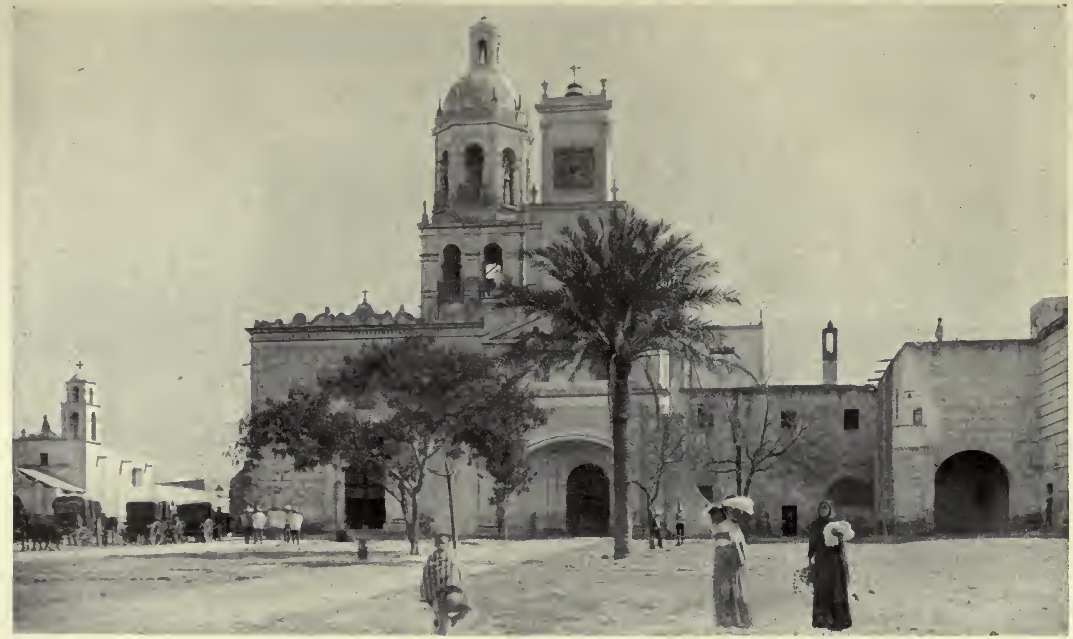
His first visit was to the cathedral. A *Te Deum* was celebrated, after which the disposition of his troops and the defence of the town claimed his attention. At first Maximilian seems to have formed the wholly absurd idea of defending himself, and putting aside any suggestion of making attack. He thus allowed himself no opportunity of gaining any advantage, and at the most was only prolonging the period of his own imprisonment.

The emperor and his troops had been permitted to enter the town almost unmolested by the Liberals, who were operating in the neighbourhood under the command of General Escobedo; they must have felt convinced that the captive was voluntarily entering his own prison gates, and naturally they were unwilling to do aught to impede him.

On the 22nd the emperor's garrison was reinforced by the arrival of General Ramón Mendez, who brought with him four thousand men. He was received by Maximilian in person at the Garitta[1] de Celaya. General Mendez was far from prepossessing in appearance, being extremely short and plump, with all the physical characteristics of his lowly Indian birth. But he had had a distinguished

---

[1] Garitta, a lodge or gateway.



THE CONVENT AND CHAPEL OF LA CRUZ, QUERETARO, SHOWING MAXIMILIAN'S PRISON

military career and wore several decorations, including the French Legion of Honour and the Mexican Eagle. He proved himself, moreover, a trusty and loyal partisan of the emperor, to whom he was personally devoted. Unfortunately, he had also formed an intense hatred for General Miramón, and persistently refused to co-operate with or to accept orders from him. This led to many heated disputes, which further embittered Maximilian's already sufficiently unhappy lot.

No sign of any activity upon the part of the enemy was to be observed until the 5th of March, when the cavalry were seen to be concentrating in the plain, west of the Cerro de la Campaña. On the following day they occupied several neighbouring farmhouses and villages, moving always nearer and nearer to the doomed town, but without either any exhibition of haste or the creation of any unnecessary noise.

General Mariano Escobedo, commanding the whole of the Liberal forces, was of the type of ferocious leader who rapidly rose to distinction in the Liberal ranks, mainly on account of a complete indifference to the ordinary dictates of humanity, and a blind devotion to the Republican cause. Like his opponent Leonardo Marquez, Mariano Escobedo possessed certain agreeable characteristics, which assisted him in his personal relations; but, also like that notorious traitor, he was a confirmed liar and trickster. The many cruelties which were perpetrated by General Escobedo would vie with those ascribed to Nero and Alva; he never forgave an enemy, and to be his opponent was at once to qualify for a visitation of his vindictive hatred; nor was he ever known to reward a friend. He was also a great physical coward notwithstanding his long military career, having a horror of flying bullets, and invariably keeping under any available cover which presented itself during an engagement.

Escobedo's conception of the spirit of 'loyalty' and 'gratitude' may be gauged from the manner in which he treated the unfortunate General Méjìa, who became his prisoner at Queretaro. In earlier days the position had been reversed, for Escobedo had been captured and sentenced to death by a court-martial of which Méjìa had been president. The latter, however, out of pure good-nature and liking for the young Escobedo, connived at his escape, having previously surreptitiously provided him with means for the purpose. These services were, however, completely forgotten when Méjìa became the captive, and his sufferings were, if anything, intensified in every way possible by orders of his unconscionable gaoler.

It was, therefore, with the previous knowledge that Escobedo would at least successfully enact the rôle of strict custodian of the imprisoned emperor and the generals that he became entrusted with the whole of the arrangements connected with their incarceration, trial and subsequent punishment.

Maximilian's headquarters were fixed at the convent of La Cruz, an extensive building standing upon a rock at the south-eastern corner of the city of Queretaro. The convent dates from the time of the Spanish Conquest, and is constructed of solid stone, upon which the cannon shot of the '60's could make but little impression. The length of the building is a little more than 600 metres,[1] and its width about 400 metres. A high stone wall surrounds the whole construction, while another wall, running transversely, then divided the area into two unequal parts. The western division, which has a length of 260 metres, contains, on the north side, the convent building, while the southern half is occupied by several *patios*, or courtyards. The eastern half of the area belonging to the convent was also, at this time, occupied by a yard, but to-day it has been partially built upon.

On the eastern wall there is a solid stone building known as the Pantheon. This formed the mausoleum used by the nuns who had occupied the convent, but had been dispossessed and turned adrift by the Juarist Government. Upon the northern side of the Pantheon stands a small stone-built chapel, and as this portion of the ground slopes from the east towards the west, the Pantheon and chapel together occupy the highest point in the city. In fact the convent of La Cruz was the citadel of Queretaro, and played an important part in the siege, which commenced on the morning of 5th March and endured until about midnight of 15th May 1867.

---

[1] 1 metre=39·37 inches, say 3 ft. 3⅓ inches.

The arrangements for the defence of La Cruz were entrusted to the hands of Colonel Miguel Lopez, and, here again, Maximilian seems to have exhibited his deplorable propensity for misjudging human character. Notwithstanding his extremely plausible and courteous manner, to nine men out of ten Miguel Lopez's real disposition—that of a suave, smooth-tongued hypocrite—would have stood plainly revealed. Maximilian, however, perceived nothing unusual or suspicious in this man's character. And he trusted him implicitly even to his own undoing.

In personal appearance Miguel Lopez was by no means unattractive. He was a tall and portly man, about thirty years of age, very unlike a Mexican either in features or colouring. His round head was covered with hair of a blonde hue, rather sparse in the middle, and artfully arranged so as to conceal several bare or thinly-covered patches. Lopez usually wore a short, fair moustache, and his mouth, though cruel, was small and furnished with regular, white teeth. In his smart, crimson Hussar uniform he looked even handsome, and being in his manners invariably courtly and in his demeanour gracious, it is little surprising that the impressionable Maximilian should at once have succumbed to Lopez's outward fascinations and have given him his complete confidence. Had Maximilian throughout his life, short as it proved, but recalled those lines of his favourite French author, La Fontaine—'Garde-toi, tant que tu vivres, de juger des gens sur la mine'—he would have spared himself many a sorrow and many a calamity.

Presuming upon the undisguised favouritism which was shown to him by the sovereign, Lopez adopted domineering and frequently offensive manners towards his brother officers, among whom he was generally unpopular. Especially overbearing in manner to some of the Austrians, he was the cause of frequent quarrels between them and himself. Lopez was very poor, and this fact may have conduced to his inability to mix as freely and as equally with his comrades-in-arms as would otherwise have been the case. He was nevertheless the recipient of countless kindnesses and proofs of generosity upon the part of both the emperor and empress. Whereas the first-named presented him with many handsome monetary gifts, so long as he possessed any means of his own, Charlotte good-naturedly stood as god-mother to one of his children. Then, upon the death of Colonel de la Madrid, who had been killed at Cuernavaca during an engagement, Lopez was appointed Commander of the Guardia Imperial, a body composed almost entirely of foreigners, known under the name of the 'Empress's Regiment,' and formed for the protection of their majesties' persons. It may again be mentioned that Colonel Lopez was related by marriage to Marshal Bazaine, being in fact an uncle of the Marshal's Mexican wife. It was to Bazaine that Lopez owed his decoration of the French Legion of Honour.

It is doubtful whether Maximilian knew of—or knowing, would have believed—the disreputable character possessed by Miguel Lopez when he delighted so signally to honour him. The many shameful episodes in his career, however, were perfectly familiar to his brother-officers. General Miramón, for instance, was in possession of a document which had been issued from the General Staff of the Army Headquarters in Mexico City, dated 8th June 1854, and signed by one 'Quigano'; this document ran as follows:—

> 'His Highness the General-President [1] orders that the Ensign of the active cavalry regiment Monterey, of Nuevo Leon, don Miguel Lopez, shall be dismissed from the army unconditionally and forever, and this on account of his infamous behaviour in Tehuacán, where he seduced the bodyguard of his Excellency

---

[1] This was General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who had assumed the title of 'Serene Highness' as previously mentioned.

the President to revolt, commanding in person the troops operating against the army of the United States.

'This order will be made known to the army, that the same may learn that if the Supreme Government rewards faithful servants, it also punishes those who are no longer worthy to belong to the honourable profession of soldiers.

'By high order, for you and your subordinates' information.'

Such, then, was the character and career of the man to whom was entrusted the 'key of Queretaro'—as the convent of la Cruz was regarded—and it will be seen hereafter in what manner he justified that confidence.

On 20th March the emperor had summoned a Council of War at which all of his generals were ordered to be present. Having introduced the subject of discussion—namely 'the general good and salvation of Mexico,' as he termed it—Maximilian retired from the meeting so as to allow his advisers to talk among themselves with perfect freedom and unrestraint. General Miramón was nominated President of the Council, and the deliberations endured for two hours. The result was that it was decided to advise the emperor to continue the defence of Queretaro, and to this policy Maximilian was found quite willing to agree.

It was also decided that General Marquez should proceed, later on, to Mexico City, in order to collect as many troops as he could muster—five thousand being the number suggested—and as much money as he could legitimately raise. His orders were to, thereafter, return to Queretaro as soon as possible. Before the assembled generals forming the council, Marquez solemnly swore, 'upon his word of honour,' to return to Queretaro within a fortnight—*coûte que coûte.* General Vidaurri and eleven hundred horsemen accompanied him when he left the town at midnight on 23rd March. And not one among them ever returned.

CHAPTER XXV

Maximilian's personal staff—Prince Felix zu Salm Salm—Romantic career—His experiences in the United States—His American princess—Efforts to serve Maximilian—Difficulties overcome—His devotion to the end—Colonel von Khevenhüller—Colonel Koderlich—Financial stringency—Privations of the defenders—Attempts to raise funds—Marquez Mission—He leaves Queretaro, promising to return within fourteen days—Fails to bring relief—Meditated treachery—Defeated by Porfirio Diaz—Imperial disaster.

In the light of the unpleasant picture of his character, already described, it is easier to understand Leonardo Marquez's actions from the time that he was appointed by Maximilian Chief-of-staff, on 17th February 1867. In the following month, the emperor, having arrived at the tardy conclusion that Señor Larès could no longer be trusted, determined to send General Marquez to depose him, to enlist and return with at least five thousand men, and also to raise funds for the furtherance of the Imperial objects. On the 19th of March the emperor issued the following powers to the general who, of all the officers surrounding his person, was the least to be relied upon :—

'For the discharge of the extraordinary and important mission which we have entrusted to General Leonardo Marquez, we name him our Lieutenant-General, invested with plenary powers, according to the verbal orders which he has received from us. Given at Queretaro, the 19th March 1867.'

During the night of the 23rd March, Marquez had quitted Queretaro with eleven hundred horsemen by way of Amealco, Acambay and Villa del Carbon. On the 27th he arrived quite unexpectedly at Mexico City, accompanied by General O'Horan (the comrade-in-arms whom he afterwards ordered to be shot without a trial) and by General Vidaurri, who will be remembered as the former Governor of Monterey. The latter had been commissioned by Maximilian to temporarily replace Señor Larès in the double capacity of Minister of Finance and President of the Council of Ministers.

Having established his authority, and insolently flaunted his new powers in the face of every one in the capital, General Marquez flatly disobeyed his further instructions, which were to the effect that, having raised five thousand men, he was to return to the succour of Queretaro. By proceeding, instead, to the defence of Puebla, which was just then about to fall to the persistent attacks made by General Porfirio Diaz, maintained since the 9th of March, Marquez entirely defeated the object of the emperor.

On the 30th March General Marquez again left the capital with sixteen hundred horsemen, nineteen hundred foot soldiers, and three batteries of artillery. In this connection it may be recalled that certain historians have alleged the real intention of Marquez was not to proceed either to Puebla or to Queretaro, but to join a new revolutionary movement then being organised by the ex-President General Santa Anna, who was again attempting to raise his standard in the State of Vera Cruz. There does not, however, appear to have been any justification for this accusation, for the situation at Puebla was undoubtedly sufficiently serious to demand attention. Marquez failed, nevertheless, to act with either decision or determination, and by his dilatory proceedings he permitted General Porfirio Diaz to secure his ultimate object; for, by renewing the assault upon Puebla with vigour and determination, it fell to him on 4th April.

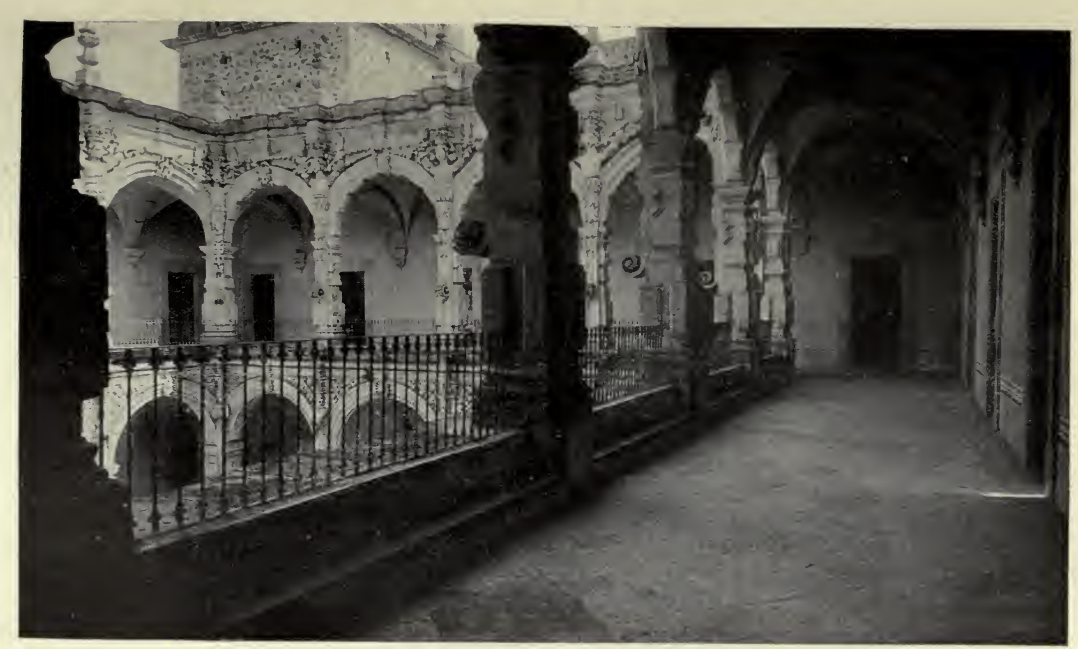
Once again General Diaz sullied his great reputation by perpetrating acts of cruelty towards his prisoners, for he ordered six general officers and sixty-one of other grades, who had gallantly helped to defend the town, to be shot, while he threatened the same fate to the rest of the garrison unless they immediately laid down their arms. Diaz pleaded as his provocation the iniquitous Decree which had been issued by Maximilian on 3rd October 1865.

The rest of the Liberal troops then attacked General Marquez, and with so much success that his columns were broken and demoralised; after a few hours' fighting they were turned back on the road to the capital in complete disorder. So precipitate, indeed, was their flight from the pursuit of Diaz's well-disciplined troops, that General Marquez was compelled to disembarrass himself not alone of his wounded but of his heavy artillery and baggage-wagons, nearly all of which were, by his orders, cast over precipices into the ravines below. Accompanied by only a handful of his followers, the defeated and dishonoured general rushed back with all haste to Mexico City, leaving the rest of his army in the utmost confusion, and assailed upon all sides by the artillery of the enemy. But for the gallant intervention of a regiment of Austrian cavalry, commanded by Major von Hammerstein, which succeeded in covering Marquez's retreat, while another battalion commanded by Colonel von Khevenhüller charged the enemy from the rear, the Imperialist General must have fallen into the hands of Porfirio Diaz, who, assuredly would then have carried out his threat to 'shoot him like a dog.'

Due entirely, however, to the heroism and the cool-headedness of the two Austrian officers, Marquez successfully made his escape from capture, while two thousand of his men and two pieces of mountain artillery were subsequently rescued and followed him afterwards into the capital.

The Imperialist rout, was, however, so thorough, and their disorganisation so great, that had General Diaz followed up his success then and there he could unquestionably have taken the capital itself with but little difficulty. Instead of attacking, however, he decided to invest, and this measure was initiated upon the following day.

It is now necessary to return to Queretaro, where Maximilian had, most perversely, imprisoned himself, and where he was awaiting with remarkable patience and hopefulness



INTERIOR OF GOVERNOR'S PALACE AT QUERETARO

the return of his 'valiant General' Marquez with the five thousand men and the funds which he had been commissioned to raise. It was some considerable time before the emperor learned, or would believe, that his instructions had been ignored, and that, instead of coming to his relief, his defeated and disgraced Chief-of-staff was engaged in fighting for his own wretched life in the capital, perpetrating there upon the inhabitants endless villainies and oppressions 'in the name of the Emperor,' and in accordance with the ample powers which had been most unwisely conferred upon him.

Among Maximilian's most loyal and trusted adherents who were with him at Queretaro was Prince Felix zu Salm Salm, the young Prussian officer who had experienced a somewhat chequered career in his own country, and who, as a consequence, had been compelled to leave it under a cloud in the early fifties. He had proceeded to North America, where he had tried his hand at various trades and professions, including some filibustering expeditions, in the course of which he had obtained, or adopted, the by no means rare rank of 'Colonel.'

In the United States Government Service, which he entered at a subsequent date, he had been given the command of a regiment during the Civil War. From 1861 to the close of the struggle, Prince zu Salm Salm served first as Colonel and Chief of the General Staff of the German Division, then as Commander, and later as Brigadier-General and Civil and Military Governor of North Georgia, under General J. D. Steedman, commanding the Division.

At the end of the war between the Federals and Confederates, Prince zu Salm Salm was recommended by twenty-six of the Senators for a responsible position in the United States regular army; but, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*,[1] 'he never felt at home in America, and was horrified at the idea of living a dreary and idle existence in some little garrison town beyond the pale of civilisation.'

From his early youth the prince had been a soldier, and having been educated in the Cadet House of Berlin, he became an officer when still a young man, and saw active service in the Holstein War, as a result of which campaign, as we know, plucky little Denmark was forced to give up to that victorious bully the King of Prussia, the provinces of Lanenburg, Holstein and Schleswig. This occurred in October 1864, shortly after Maximilian had arrived in Mexico. For his part in the Holstein affair, Prince Felix zu Salm Salm was decorated by the King of Prussia, who likewise bestowed upon him a sword of honour bearing the words 'Fuer Tapferkeit.' This weapon Salm Salm carried with him to Mexico.

---

[1] *The Diary of Prince Salm Salm.* 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1868.

In personal appearance Felix zu Salm Salm afforded clear evidence of his distinguished birth. Of middle stature, he was possessed of a graceful, wiry figure, with very erect carriage, an agreeable, handsome face, and a particularly ingratiating smile. His eyes were dark and kindly, capable of a very humorous expression at times—especially when relating some of his many adventures—while a monocle which he habitually carried in his right eye imparted the look of a dandy. Somewhat nervous and bashful among women, 'Salm,' as he was usually called, proved the best of companions, always cheery and resourceful, in the mess-room.

Prince Felix was a younger son of the reigning Prince zu Salm Salm, whose mediatised principality is situated in Westphalia. The family rank as one of the most ancient of the dynastic lineages of Germany, and of the several branches that of Salm Salm is the principal. The family are strict Roman Catholics, and observe the practice of sending their members not only to the Prussian but to the Austrian army.

It was his love of adventure in the first instance, and having nothing to occupy him, which prompted the prince to seek further service abroad. The romantic career of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, now become emperor of Mexico, attracted him. Not having the honour of his Majesty's personal acquaintance, however, Prince zu Salm

Salm had to furnish himself with letters of recommendation. In view of his own interesting and not undistinguished career, this was not likely to prove a difficult matter. Among his references was a very strong letter from the President of the United States, and others were received from several American generals under whom he had served. Among those who also spoke and wrote well of him were the Prussian Minister at Washington, Baron Geralt; the French Minister, the Marquis de Monthalon; and the Austrian Minister, Baron de Wydenbrück, who sent his recommendation of the young prince through the channel of the Austrian Minister to Mexico, the Count de Thün.

So far from finding an easy road open to him in Mexico, however, it was with the utmost difficulty that Prince Felix zu Salm Salm gained access to the person of the emperor and subsequently an appointment. His great opponent had been throughout the above-named Count de Thün, who cordially hated all Prussians, and would allow no one of that nationality to occupy any position near the emperor if he could help it. In this case, however, he could not help it, and his many machinations entirely failed in the end. Prince zu Salm Salm found his way to the side of Maximilian, and between them at once there sprang up a bond of mutual confidence and affection which endured to the last days of Maximilian's life. In his closing hours the devotion of both the prince and his wife—an attractive young North-American circus-rider, whom he had married while resident in the United States—proved a great solace to the unhappy Maximilian when deserted by every one else, including his own countrymen.

To Prince and Princess zu Salm Salm we owe many interesting and valuable records of the emperor's later days, written in a spirit of deep reverence and affection which commands our ready sympathy and consideration.

Prince Felix's first Mexican experiences were in connection with the operations of the Belgian corps in the interior. Here he went through some exciting times, notwithstanding the cowardice of the Belgians, of whom the prince speaks in terms of withering contempt. His services extended from the early days of November 1866 until the beginning of January 1867, and it was then that the prince for the first time caught a glimpse of the Emperor Maximilian, as he passed through Buena Vista on his way from Orizaba to Mexico City.

A few days afterwards Salm Salm was received by Maximilian and authorised to proceed to Vera Cruz, in order to raise a regiment of cavalry among European volunteers, selecting his men from among the Belgian legion and others who were not returning immediately to Europe. In these efforts he was much opposed both by the secretary (afterwards Chargé d'Affairs) of the Belgian Legation, M. Hooricks, and the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago, both of whom were inimical to Maximilian, and took every opportunity of thwarting his interests. Finding it impossible to succeed in his endeavour to serve the emperor by raising a new regiment, Prince Felix returned to Mexico City and begged for some employment in another direction. After some further difficulties and disappointments, the young soldier succeeded in his object through the instrumentality of General Vidaurri, under whose ægis he entered the town of Queretaro upon the same day that its gates had opened to and closed upon Maximilian.

Another devoted adherent was Colonel von Khevenhüller, the young Austrian nobleman possessed of a great personal fortune, the major portion of which he sacrificed to the cause of Maximilian in Mexico. His troop was known as the Huzares Colorados, 'The Red Hussars,' six hundred strong, and whose maintenance and pay he made his entire charge; his agent for these expenses was one Nathaniel Davidson, a nephew of M. Nathaniel Rothschild, the great Jewish banker.

Colonel von Kodolich, aide-de-camp to Maximilian, commanded the whole of the Austrian cavalry (volunteers), devoted to the cause of the emperor. He served with no selfish or ulterior motive, since he and his compatriot, Colonel von Khevenhüller received no remuneration during their service in Mexico, but, on the other hand, they had plunged their hands deep into their own pockets in order to provide both food and raiment for the men under their command. Colonel von Kodolich was a brilliant soldier, and carried an immense influence with his troops. Both officers remained in Mexico so long as they could hope to serve the emperor, and only left after the execution of their much loved and unfortunate prince.

Several other officers in Maximilian's foreign legion, in order to relieve the situation, not only voluntarily forewent their pay owing to the depleted condition of the treasury, but themselves consented to find the money to supply the more pressing demands of their men. Among these generous adherents to the Imperial cause was Captain J. J. Kendall, the Englishman who followed the fortunes of the Austrian archduke until the end, and who, besides raising a full company of men, liberally helped to pay for their maintenance for a great part of the time. At no period of his service was he enabled to obtain full pay, and towards the end he could secure no funds whatever. Altogether he advanced some $15,000 towards the men's remuneration, and of this amount but $500 had been returned to him.

Maximilian had set his face sternly against employing any forced loans—*prestamos obligádos*; the assessments which were levied by Marquez, the Lieutenant-General of the Empire, in the name of Maximilian, were not even known to the emperor, much less countenanced by him, while the proceeds obtained were entirely used by the treacherous tyrant Marquez without reference to Maximilian. Among other establishments in Mexico City which were compelled by his threats to make contributions was the Bank of London and South America, which paid to him the sum of 450,000 *pésos*; the wife of one of the foreign ambassadors was induced to 'lend' the whole amount of her marriage portion, amounting to some 48,000 *pésos*; several well-to-do merchants contributed under *duresse* sums between 5000 and 10,000 *pésos*, and within two days Marquez had thus collected over 500,000 *pésos*, with the proceeds of which he was enabled to raise, arm and equip a body of men exceeding 4000 in number,

The Imperial finances received some trifling addition by means of a loan from the commercial house of Baron and Forbes, a firm of manufacturers of the town of Tepic, and whose head office was situated in Mexico City. They advanced the sum of 100,000 francs, without demanding either interest or security.

Maximilian had realised everything that was worth realising, such as his liveries, saddlery, carriages, and other personal effects. At one time his monthly civil list had amounted to 31,250 *pésos*. By the month of March 1867, the civil list revenue of the Imperial household had been cut down to 10,000 *pésos* per month, and the expenses of the emperor's household to 1500 *pésos*: these figures are found set forth, under Maximilian's own hand, in a document addressed to Father Augustin Fischer (his secretary) bearing date—'Queretaro, 29th May 1867.' The letter reads as follows:

> 'By the present you are ordered to try to collect the following amounts:—Civil list due March $10,000; expenses of my household in that month $1500; Civil list for April, $10,000; household, $1500; Civil list due for the first fifteen days of May $5000; household $750. Total $28,750.'

In two months and a half, as mentioned by Maximilian in a subsequent paragraph of this letter, he had only received one payment on account of his household expenses.

It is melancholy to have to add that no part of this sum, which was intended by the emperor to have been handed over to the Prussian Consul in Mexico (Herr Stephen von Benecke) to cover some personal debt, ever reached its destination. If Father Fischer collected it he must have retained possession of the entire amount, for he rendered no account of his stewardship.

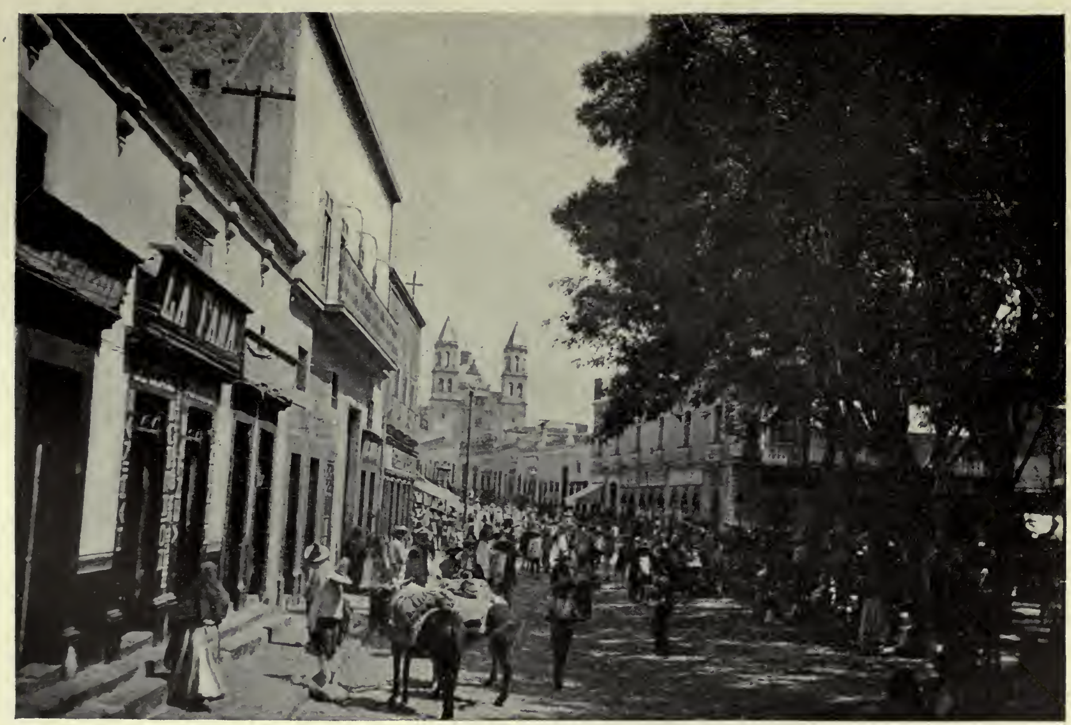
In the last weeks of the siege of Queretaro, the emperor's entire personal means did not exceed fifty *pésos* a day, and out of this he paid his doctor, his secretary, his orderlies, kept two horses and defrayed other small expenses. Nevertheless no beggar or wounded soldier ever passed him without receiving some bestowal of alms, and without having to solicit it.

CHAPTER XXVI

Liberals besiege Queretaro—Continued anxiety concerning Marquez—Count Pototski—Prince zu Salm Salm attempts a sally—Failure of the plan—Miramón's blunders—Maximilian proposes flight—Allows opportunity to pass—Horrors of siege increase—Former plan to escape frustrated by Miramón's stupidity—Miguel Lopez betrays the town to the Liberals—Maximilian is taken prisoner—Miramôn wounded—Escobedo's 'word of honour'—Savagery of Liberal troops—Little improvement among Mexicans of to-day.

THE first general attack by the Liberals upon the city of Queretaro was made on the 14th March 1867. It was directed from three different points: La Cruz; the bridge across the small river Blanco, which divides the town from its suburb San Luis; and a position between the Alameda and the Casa Blanca (White House), which latter was occupied by General Méjìa and his cavalry. The struggle endured the whole day, and when night fell the Liberals had been repulsed with considerable loss, while the small garrison of Queretaro had been reduced by 630. On the other hand, it had been reinforced by between 700 and 800 prisoners, who, for the most part, were pressed into the emperor's service.

No further fighting took place between the 15th and the 20th, the Imperialists occupying themselves by fortifying the city, as far as was possible, by building breastworks, providing the buildings with embrasures and loopholes, and mounting guns in more advantageous positions. The Liberals, who had felt very chagrined at their severe repulse on the 14th, were no less busily engaged in perfecting their arrangements for the continuance of the siege, and on the 24th a fresh attack upon the town was commenced. Opera-



MARKET-PLACE AT QUERETARO

tions continued with varying degrees of success upon one side or the other until the 25th. Day by day the position of the besieged was becoming worse. No news had been received from General Marquez, and the emperor remained in complete ignorance of the disaster which had overtaken his disobedient missioner. It will be remembered that Marquez had left Queretaro at midnight on the 23rd March, and had solemnly promised to be back there with his reinforcements ‘within a fortnight.’ Thus he should, at the latest, have presented himself at the city's gates by the 6th April. In the meantime, also, food provisions, as well as ammunition, were beginning to give out, no sufficient preparations for a long siege having been made by Maximilian or any one among his purblind advisers.

As the month wore on and no intelligence of the absent Marquez came to hand, Maximilian determined at length to take the initiative and attack the enemy. What he expected to gain by the move, even if successful, it is difficult to imagine, since he was resolved in any case to remain in Queretaro. A difference of opinion occurred between General Miramón, who suggested the move, and Prince zu Salm Salm, who was delegated to carry it out; and when appealed to for his decision, Maximilian did not know with whom to agree. As previously mentioned, the emperor's knowledge of military matters was not profound. All that he could say was ‘Salm, I wish you good luck with all my heart; may God protect you.’

The movement, carried out on the 12th April, proved a failure, and after losing a number of his best men—troops of the 1st of the line with the *cazadores* who acted as an advance guard—Prince zu Salm Salm had to retreat, and nothing whatever was gained. One of the most serious losses among the wounded was that of young Count Pototski, whose right leg had to be amputated, and from the effects of which operation he died a few days afterwards. He had entered the ranks of the *cazadores* as a private out of love for the emperor. Maximilian attended his deathbed, and conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant and the cross of the Order of Guadaloupe, pinning the badge to his breast as the young fellow breathed his last.

Since Marquez would not, or could not, come to Queretaro, Maximilian, becoming impatient by the 15th of the month, resolved to send some trusty messenger to find him. His choice fell upon General Méjìa; but the latter had fallen ill and was unable to go. His place was then taken by the gallant young Prince zu Salm Salm, always ready to serve the emperor, and to take part in any dangerous or exciting expedition. Again Miramón, notwithstanding the failure of his plans on the 12th, was allowed to determine the *modus operandi* to be carried out by Prince zu Salm Salm, and again his arrangements proved impracticable and a failure. Maximilian, after much hesitation, added to the already copious instructions imparted to Salm Salm an order to arrest General Marquez should he find him to be guilty of treason to the Imperialist cause. Notwithstanding these commands, we find Maximilian writing to his treacherous general as follows:

'QUERETARO, *April* 16, 1867.

'MY DEAR GENERAL MARQUEZ,—The Prince zu Salm Salm is going to the capital to consult you and other persons about objects of the utmost importance. We, therefore, recommend you to consider everything he will communicate to you as a transmission of our demands, which you will execute in the manner he will tell you: and at the same time take care that the same be done by other persons to whom the Prince might address himself. Your affectionate, MAXIMILIAN.'

As has already been stated, the second mission upon which the prince was despatched had been so badly conceived and arranged by General Miramón that it completely failed, and the former was compelled to return to Queretaro, humiliated and disgusted. To the emperor the failure was no less of a disappointment, for many of his officers were already showing signs of apprehension and insubordination, begging him, through General Méjìa, to surrender the town and thus save them while it was still possible to do so. Maximilian recognised to the full the danger of his own position; but with an extraordinary credulity, he still clung to the belief that Marquez would return with reinforcements, and thus at least enable him to continue the struggle. Ideas of his own escape, up to this time, do not appear to have occurred to him.

All the inconveniences and privations (soon to be followed by the horrors) of a close siege were now being experienced. The emperor himself suffered from both bad and insufficient food and lack of the bodily comforts to which, during the whole of his life, he had been accustomed. But he never complained, accepting his lot with a cheerfulness at once both admirable and extremely pathetic. In the calm resignation with which he accepted all his troubles and afflictions, Maximilian, indeed, recalls the sublime submission of Epictetus, the Roman Stoic philosopher, whose beautiful discourse: 'Deal with me in the future as Thou wilt; I am of the same mind as Thou art; I am Thine; I refuse nothing that pleases Thee, lead me where Thou wilt,' contains perhaps some of the most touching words ever composed by a persecuted human being.

There were others besides the discontented officers who thought that Maximilian should endeavour to escape from his dangerous position. Several different plans were proposed, but nothing definite was attempted until 26th April. With almost fatuous expectation the arrangements were for a third time entrusted to General Miramón, and for the third time they failed. While the release of Maximilian from the danger of his position was the main object aimed at, General Miramón determined to profit by the occasion and inflict a blow upon the enemy at the same time. In the end he succeeded in accomplishing neither object, and the emperor's situation became more desperate as a consequence of this fresh failure. So completely did Miramón mismanage affairs that it is scarcely surprising to find historians, both Mexican and foreign, suspecting him of designs of perpetrating deliberate treachery. Even Maximilian at length was not altogether proof against harbouring doubts of his loyalty; but with his own naturally frank and good-natured disposition it was always a difficult matter to convince him of another's bad faith or unworthiness.

On 27th April an unexpected and important, if transitory, success attended the arms of the emperor, when an attack was made upon the Liberal besiegers. Had General Miramón but followed up this victory, there can be no doubt whatever that Maximilian could this time have made good his escape. For yet a fourth time, however, affairs were grossly mismanaged; no steps were taken by the Imperialists either to follow up their success by attacking the retreating enemy, or to avail themselves of the opportunity of leaving the death-trap wherein they had been locked up for over a month. Maximilian allowed himself to be persuaded by General Miramón to remain at Queretaro, and to make a further attack at a later date. Whereas it had been Marquez who had hitherto proved the evil genius of Maximilian, now it was Miramón. There seems to have been something fatal to the emperor in the character of those whose names contained the initial letter 'M.'

Valuable opportunities of safely leaving the doomed city were presented at different times between the 20th and 30th of April, but by now Maximilian had completely succumbed to the influences of General Miramón, to whom he had once more given all his confidence, and nothing was done beyond arranging for a further attack upon the Liberal ranks. A day or two afterwards the attempt was made under the command of General Miramón, but the difficulties were greater than before, since the Liberals had had abundant time in which to re-equip themselves and to perfect their arrangements for a strenuous defence. On the other hand, the Imperialists were becoming more and more exhausted from lack of food and ammunition; notwithstanding these drawbacks the people of Queretaro displayed great powers of endurance and restraint. The last attack made by the Imperialists was on 3rd May, and it resulted in no advantage to either party.

Several different attempts were made to break through the lines of the Liberals, but the watch was too keenly maintained, and each succeeding effort proved unavailing.

From this date forward Maximilian was put entirely upon his defence. But for the many quarrels and jealousies which had occurred among the Liberals, the town of Queretaro might at this time have been successfully stormed and taken. Even as things were, it had become merely a question of time when the place must succumb from starvation.

The siege had now endured for sixty days, and life behind the barricades was proving well nigh unbearable. By the 11th of May food provisions were almost exhausted, but there was still a fair quantity of good wine to be obtained in the town; a discovery of some untouched liquor stores led to the whole stock being commandeered by the Imperialists, who, however, had no money to pay for it.

During these days of comparative inactivity Maximilian contrived to maintain the dignity of his position only with great difficulty. He was now but seldom enabled to remain alone, he possessed but one personal attendant—the Hungarian Tudos—and all the customary surroundings of imperial pomp and circumstance were absent. Occasional Councils of War had devolved into mere ceremonies, since nothing remained to the besieged but either to submit to their enemies or to die of starvation. Maximilian still held an occasional investiture, bestowing the Guadaloupe Order upon a number of the officers and private inhabitants who had merited his approval or attracted his attention.

Among the recipients of the Order was Colonel Lopez, the Judas who, in a few days' time, was to betray the hand which had already conferred the 'medal for valour,' granted to him for 'services' of which no convincing record can be found.

This extraordinary act upon the part of the emperor not unnaturally strengthened considerably the defence which Lopez subsequently raised when his accusers appeared against him; as we shall see, however, in a later chapter, the guilt of the man was brought home to him conclusively, notwithstanding the conferring of this imperial distinction —the outcome of Maximilian's weakness and excess of kindliness, rather than recognition upon his part of any conspicuous meritoriousness.

In all probability the siege of Queretaro would not have been withstood for very many more weeks for the reasons afforded; but the hand of the traitor was already at work, and the undoing of the emperor and his supporters was precipitated by an act of perfidiousness for which the man Miguel Lopez has been rightly held responsible.

On the evening of the 14th May it had been determined that the emperor and a few of his most trusty officers were to make one further attempt at escape. The preparations had been thought out with some care, and every provision made for avoiding a surprise by the enemy. Colonel Lopez had been one of the few among the emperor's intimates chosen to accompany him, others being Prince Felix zu Salm Salm, General Méjìa and Dr. Basch, the emperor's physician.

At the earnest suggestion of General Miramón, to whom the arrangements were also made known, the attempt was further postponed until the night of the 15th or 16th. At daybreak of the 15th, however, a sudden commotion in the emperor's apartments betokened that something unusual and alarming had occurred. Colonel Lopez, fully attired and evidently labouring under great excitement, burst into the sleeping apartment of Prince zu Salm Salm, crying, 'Quick, save the life of the Emperor. The enemy is already in La Cruz!'

No other explanation was afforded, then or later, regarding the manner in which the enemy had gained an entrance to the supposedly well-guarded La Cruz, the custodian of which, as will be remembered, had been Colonel Lopez himself. The bad news had somehow been communicated simultaneously to Maximilian, for when the prince presented himself, the emperor, fully aroused and alert, calmly observed, 'We are betrayed, Salm. Go down and let the hussars and body-guard march out. We will go to the Cerro (the hill), and see how we can arrange matters. I shall follow you directly.'

But it was soon discovered that not alone had the customary military guard disappeared, having as a fact been withdrawn, doubtless by order of Colonel Lopez their commander, but all of the horses, which had previously been saddled in readiness for the flight, had been *un*saddled, while the defending gun in the battery before La Cruz had been upset. Several Imperialist soldiers, suppósedly faithful to the emperor's cause, were seen slinking away through a wide embrasure in the wall, a proceeding prearranged so as to cast the onus of the betrayal upon other shoulders than those of Lopez.

The emperor, accompanied by some of his officer-attendants (including General Castillo and Prince zu Salm Salm), managed to proceed as far as the Cerro, and at the same moment the bells of La Cruz convent commenced to ring out a joyful peal, the preconcerted signal to notify that the betrayal had succeeded. These sounds, so ominous to the ears of the fugitives, were at once followed by heavy firing from the batteries of San Gregorio and Casa Blanca, directed against the runaways, thus cutting off all escape in that direction. There was now no dependence to be placed upon any of the troops who had hitherto fought for the emperor, since they were seen going over in hundreds to the Liberals who had bought them; and when an Imperialist officer was remonstrated with upon his refusal to obey an order direct from Maximilian, he laughed insolently in his Majesty's face.

Plutarch, the Greek philosopher, has laid it down in his *Lives*, that while Julius Cæsar loved the treason, 'he hated the traitor.' This may be said to have been the case with the betrayal of Maximilian by Miguel Lopez. While profiting by the act of treachery which opened the gates of the besieged town to the wearied Liberal troops, the Juarists cordially despised the instrument which had brought the desired act about.

There have been historians and controversialists who have attempted to show that the treachery of Lopez has been open to doubt, and has never been conclusively proved. In a lengthy document, of which a complete copy is in the hands of the author, Lopez himself enters into an elaborate argument calculated to show that the fall of Queretaro was brought about through no fault of his, but by natural causes. Considered from a careful and impartial investigation of the abundant evidence which exists upon this matter, there can be no shadow of doubt in the mind of the ordinary individual that Lopez *was* guilty of the charges brought against him, proof so convincing that none but the wilfully obtuse would refuse to accept it.

Upon a previous page, it will be remembered, mention was made of Maximilian's intention, upon the advice of General Miramón, to make an attempt to escape from Queretaro on the 14th of May, and of his having confided the fact to—among others—Miguel Lopez. The latter declared that what the emperor had requested him to do was to pay a private visit to the camp of the enemy and there to ascertain from the Commander-in-chief, General Escobedo, whether he would grant permission for Maximilian to leave, with the Empress's Regiment and some persons of his household. There were but two individuals who were in a position to substantiate this statement—one was Maximilian, to whom the question was never put during his life, Lopez's version only gaining currency after his death; and the other was General Escobedo, who, when asked concerning the allegation, emphatically denied it. The actual truth was this. Lopez did pay the visit to the Liberal camp to which he refers; but he proceeded there on his own initiative, entirely unknown to Maximilian, or to any one in the Imperial camp, and for the express purpose of selling his master for the sum of 50,000 *pésos*. The terms were accepted, and so far as Lopez was concerned were adhered to.

Lopez had asserted that no one knew anything of the proposed sortie but the emperor, Miramón and himself.

Here again he is proved to have stated what was untrue, for the plan was known to all who were to take part in it, to Colonel Pedro Gonzalez and several of his officers, as well as to Prince Felix zu Salm Salm, who was to take an active share in the arrangements.

A further piece of evidence furnished by Lopez himself, in the lengthy pamphlet which he published setting forth his defence, entirely destroys the value of the statement that the emperor, who was thinking of making his escape, had solicited Lopez to make the arrangements with the enemy's leader, General Escobedo. On p. 9, par. 2 of this pamphlet, Miguel Lopez says :—

'He [Maximilian] desired always to take part in the dangers of his subordinates, and his mind was much too noble to permit him to think for a moment of his own security, knowing that his troops were so much in danger.' Nevertheless the author of this encomium asks us to believe that the subject was meditating flight, after trafficking with the enemy, and leaving his deserted troops and officers to take care of themselves !

A still more damaging piece of evidence exists which, in itself, would suffice to convince the ordinary critic. Three or four days before the 15th of May, Colonel Lopez had requested and obtained permission to employ a detachment of troops who were commanded by a rascally Mexican half-caste named Colonel Jablonsky, a close friend and intimate of Lopez. These troops were to have sole charge of the Puerta de la Cruz—affording the one and only means of entrance to the stronghold, and as a consequence forming the key to the city. The first thing that they did, under orders of the said Jablonsky, was to dismount the guns which formed part of the batteries defending the gateway, working under the cover of darkness, and thus being surprised or suspected by no one.

A powerful witness against Lopez, and one who has completely refuted the various statements which were made by that individual with a view to disproving his guilt, was Colonel Manuel Guzman, the second chief of the Imperial

General Staff. He has left us a declaration to the effect that, after having been advised by Colonel Jablonsky that the enemy had penetrated the entrance (supposed to have been guarded by Colonel Lopez and his men), he came across three bodies of infantry wearing the enormous *chaokos* of the Juarist battalion known as Supremos Poderes. No sooner had he made this discovery, than he encountered Colonel Lopez skulking behind these men and attempting to conceal himself from the Colonel's view. Lopez was not a prisoner in the hands of the Liberal troops, but to all intents and purposes was quite friendly with them and acting in concert.

Soon afterwards it was discovered how Lopez had been enabled to execute the dastardly act of treachery without creating any noise, without firing a single shot—without occasioning any noticeable movement upon the part of the garrison of the tower. Colonel Guzman declared that, while in conversation, the different defenders of the fort had all been taken prisoners (with the one exception of the watchman in the tower) at the same time. They one and all agreed that Colonel Lopez had told each single post 'that a battalion of the army of General Marquez had deceived the enemy and succeeded in entering the town; that its soldiers would relieve the posts, and that this was to be incorporated with his (Lopez's) brigade, as a movement was ordered to take place at daybreak on the morrow.' The plot hatched in the fertile brain of this arch-traitor proved wholly successful.

If this evidence were not deemed sufficiently definite, we have the independent testimony of a Liberal officer—Captain Antonio Salgado—who, in reply to an interrogation put to him by some Imperial officers as to how it had happened that he and his troops had gained access to the town without firing a shot, replied, 'Because Miguel Lopez received us and showed us the way. At first,' he added, 'we suspected that it was an infamous piece of treason, and our General, pistol in hand, did not leave the side of Lopez for a moment, ready to blow out his brains on the first suspicion.' 'An infamous piece of treason,' it was in truth, but directed against his own side.

Unfortunately for Lopez and his clumsily-concocted *apologia*, there exists a further dumb but telling witness against him in the form of a certain letter written in the Liberal camp before the town of Queretaro, and bearing date the morning of the day which witnessed the great betrayal, 15th May. This letter is as follows :—

> 'My dear Friend,[1]—Even now, half past five A.M., the fort of the enemy, La Cruz, the strongest of the place, fell into our hands. It was delivered to us by the Commander who was entrusted with its defence, with two battalions, who surrendered at discretion all artillery, ammunition and material of war.
>
> '(Signed) D. Justo Mendoza.
> *Colonel.*'

This important piece of testimony bears the further endorsement signed by the Commander-in-chief of the Liberal forces :

> 'I am happy to inform you that at this moment, 5.35 A.M., the convent of La Cruz was occupied by our troops. The field officer who defended it surrendered it to us with two battalions, who surrendered also at discretion. Ammunition and material of war fell into our hands.
>
> '(Signed) Escobedo.'

The atrocious act committed by Miguel Lopez created a feeling of such intense indignation and anger among the Imperialist officers—the rank and file accepted the situation with customary phlegmatic indifference—that while languishing in the prisons of the Republic, they unanimously drew up and signed a stinging indictment against their former comrade, setting forth the whole of the facts which had contributed to the betrayal, and shattering completely and conclusively the feeble defence which Lopez had concocted and published in the form of the pamphlet already mentioned. This impressive indictment, filling several closely printed sheets, was entitled, 'A Repudiation of the Pamphlet of Miguel Lopez; by the Field Officers of the Imperial army, now prisoners in Morélia.' The document was printed by one Ignace Arango, and bears date '1867.' It is signed by Colonels Manuel Guzman, Manuel Allègre, Juan Adolfo Carranza, José María Zapata, Pedro A. Gonzalez; Lieut.-Colonels Trinidad M. García, Antonio M. de Horta, Miguel Gutierrez, Faustino Valderrez, Ramón R. Roblès, Manuel V. Escalante, Augustin Pradillo, Ignacio de Arreta, Manuel Marcón, Pedro Navarrete, Francisco Campos, Manuel Trastorza, Juan Verna; Majors José Nava, Hermenegildo Rojas, Juan Obscuras, Ernesto Malburg, Victorian Montéro, José María Vilchis, Macedonio Victorica, Luis Echegaray, Manuel Montéro, Casimiro Frontana, Ignacio Sepulveda, Carlos Gutierrez, Miguel de Gávis, Ignacio Cabello, Carlo Veráza, Godardo (Count de Pachta), José Carlos Arozema, Félix Becerra, Pio Quinto Claveria, Juan Ramirez and Antonio Perez.

---

[1] There is no superscription upon this communication, but it is supposed to have been addressed to some Liberal comrade in San Luis Potósi.

But in Prince Felix zu Salm Salm Lopez found even a more bitter opponent than this powerful group of witnesses against him, all of whom had previously ranked as his brother officers, and who were languishing in prison while he, the traitor and regicide, was free, free that is to say so far as his personal liberty was concerned, but a prey for all time to the remorse which his prototype Judas must have known—

'When the dream of avarice was at an end,
He had betrayed his living Lord and Friend.'

Prince Felix zu Salm Salm possessed an intimate and complete knowledge of the whole of the circumstances connected with the defence and the betrayal of the city of Queretaro. Not only was he in the implicit confidence of the emperor and of his generals, but he was upon terms of friendship with all of the emperor's other officers, and with many belonging to the Liberal ranks, who became familiar with him after he had been captured and imprisoned. There was no phase of the whole deplorable occurrence unknown to him, and as he had during the six months of his subsequent imprisonment abundant opportunities of amassing and sifting the evidence against the betrayer of his beloved prince and benefactor, his testimony may be accepted absolutely without reserve.

Prince Felix has given us, in his interesting *Diary*, so exhaustive an account of Miguel Lopez's treachery that I offer no apology for reproducing in the appendix[1] the salient points touched upon, leaving it to my readers to decide whether this potent witness, who has also long since passed away,[2] has made out a clear case against the Mexican renegade. The indictment is framed in vigorous and forcible language; neither was the accusation ever defended nor the challenge ever accepted by the recreant coward incriminated.

The news of the betrayal of Queretaro—there seems to have been no discussion at any time as to whether it was 'betrayed' or 'captured'—reached San Luis Potósi (the seat of the Juarez Government) within a few hours of the occurrence. Writing in her diary bearing date 15th May, Princess zu Salm Salm, then detained in San Luis Potósi by order of President Juarez, says:—

'The very next morning a gentleman called upon me; he told me that Queretaro had been sold to the Liberals for three thousand ounces, by a certain Colonel Lopez and a man from San Luis—Jablonsky—that the emperor was a prisoner and my husband was wounded.'

The one and only satisfactory phase of this sordid record consists in the established fact that although numerous promises were made by the Liberal government to hand over to Lopez the amount of the blood-money agreed upon, it was never paid. In this respect he was less fortunate than his foul exemplar, who actually received the price for revealing to the band the place where Jesus might be found.

---

[1] See Appendix VII.

[2] Prince Felix zu Salm Salm was killed in battle on ~~21st~~ 18th August 1870 in the Franco-German War, falling gallantly before the strongly fortified Sainte Marie aux Chênes and Saint Privat-la-Montagne, aged ~~fifty-two~~. 42

The end was now fast approaching. General Escobedo was in complete control of the convent, and it was he who formally ordered the arrest of Maximilian and his companions, the emperor yielding up his sword and revolver to General Mirafuentes, while other Liberal officers possessed themselves of the weapons of the remaining prisoners. At this fateful moment Maximilian, as ever, thoughtful of others, and realising that nothing was to be gained by offering any further resistance, observed to his captor: ‘If more blood must be spilled, I beg you let it be mine.’

To this General Escobedo replied: ‘I shall report your arrest, Señor, to the Government; but you and those who belong to you shall be treated as prisoners of war.’

In the mouth of an ordinary gallant foe such a declaration would have been equivalent to an assurance of personal safety; but among the Mexicans, who then, as now, shoot their prisoners in cold blood—and it has to be remembered that even Maximilian had been induced by his advisers to adopt similar measures against his opponents (by the terms of the ‘Decree of 3rd October’)—such an avowal meant little or nothing.

In common with many—one might say most—Latin-American races, the Mexicans pay little or no regard to the recognised humane code of procedure when waging war against one another. They adopt most of the unrestrained licence of earlier and more barbarous times. There is made no attempt to follow the inspiring idea of Grotius, who sought to introduce the spirit of law into the conduct of hostilities, and to enforce the principle that there was a lawful as well as an unlawful way of waging war.

Between the time of Grotius and our own the sphere of law in war has widened, and no European nation, at least, would now venture to conduct a campaign otherwise than according to the order of civilised warfare, unless against savages from whom no reciprocal treatment was to be expected, or rebels to whom they had to refuse the status of belligerents. It was doubtless in the last-named light that the Liberals and Imperialists of Mexico regarded one another, notwithstanding the fact that their internecine quarrel was merely the outcome of a disagreement upon the one question whether the country should remain a republic or become a constitutional monarchy.

Even to-day, when the political dividing-line has been narrowed down to the yet more simple question as to which particular individual shall rule as President, the same terrible reprisals are adopted by both contending parties, whose brutalities perpetrated upon one another have undergone little if any mitigation since war became more the business of professional soldiers scientifically equipped and accustomed to stringent discipline.

Thus it was the misfortune of Maximilian to find himself a prisoner in the hands of a horde of indifferently controlled half-Indian troops, thirsting for revenge, mostly both ignorant of and unconcerned regarding the laws and usages of civilised warfare.

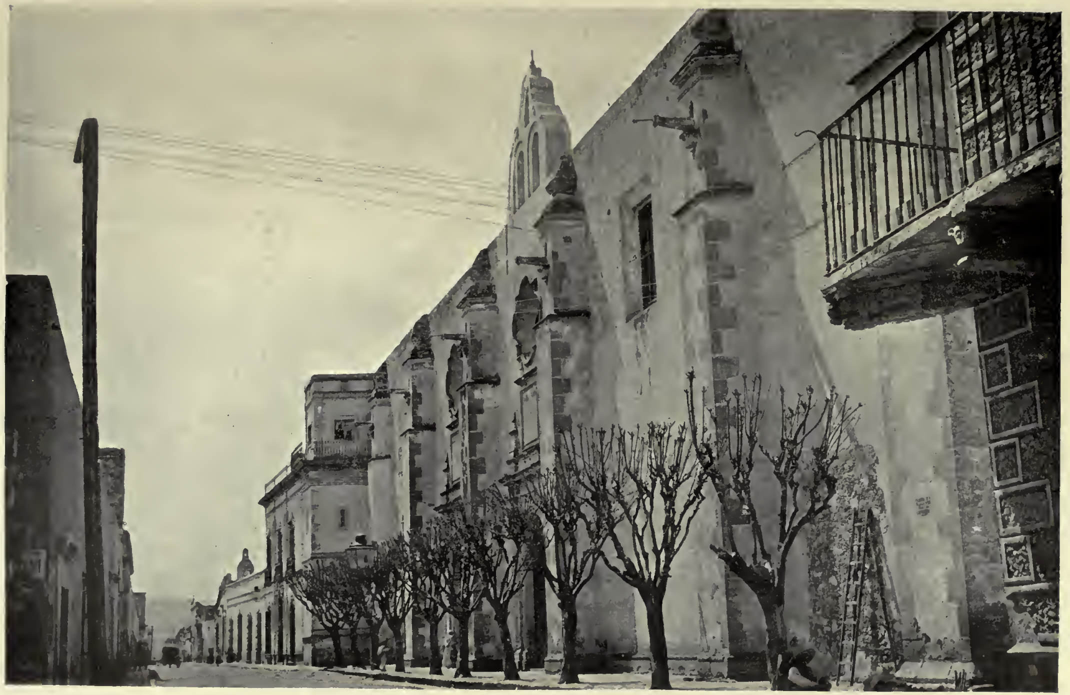
CHAPTER XXVII

Maximilian in prison—His custodians—General Rivas Palacios—Brutal treatment by Emperor's gaolers—Removal to Santa Teresita—Renegade French officers—A 'black list'—Further change in prison quarters—Maximilian's illness increases—Princess Agnes zu Salm Salm—Her romantic career—Meeting with her husband—Arrival in Mexico—First interview with Maximilian—Antagonism of Porfirio Diaz—Journeys to Queretaro and San Luis Potósi—Meeting with Juarez.

Maximilian's imprisonment commenced on the morning of the 15th May, when he had been arrested, without showing any resistance, by General Mariano Escobedo, and handed over to the custody of General Vicente Rivas Palacios. The latter officer was a noted chief of party, and had served with much distinction in the earlier conflicts of the Republic. His sympathy for the foreigner was in pronounced contrast to the fanatical hatred displayed by so many of the Juarist leaders, notably General Escobedo and General Ortega.

In Michoacán General Rivas Palacios's marked friendliness for the French had proceeded so far that during the whole period of his command small detachments of wounded or convalescent soldiers of that nationality were permitted to make their way to Mexico City from the shores of the Pacific, not only with care, but amid every demonstration of respect, from the enemy. Several cordial letters passed between General Rivas Palacios and Marshal Bazaine, and when the former's envoy, Antonio Mendez, was arrested by French troops while on his way to the capital, Bazaine at once had him set at liberty to return whence he came.

For some special reason General Rivas Palacios was much esteemed by Maximilian, who had given instruc-



THE CONVENT OF LOS CAPUCHINOS, QUERETARO, WHEREIN MAXIMILIAN WAS FOR A TIME CONFINED AS A PRISONER

tions that he was to be shown the greatest consideration should he at any time fall into the hands of the Imperialists. These orders were conveyed in the form of a letter directed from the emperor's Military Cabinet, at Mexico City, dated 15th December 1865, and addressed to Marshal Bazaine. The chief of the Military Cabinet wrote :—

> 'His Majesty directs me to acquaint your Excellency that in case Vicente Rivas Palacios should be captured, he wishes that he should be brought to Mexico City. This exception is for special reasons, and is the only one which the Emperor intends to make to the Decree of the 3rd October,[1] and he desires that your Excellency will give positive instructions that if he is taken, Rivas Palacios should not be put to death.'

Thus it fortunately fell out that Maximilian had been consigned to the keeping of a particularly humane and sympathetic gaoler, one who might be depended upon to do all that lay within his official power to make the lot of the illustrious prisoner as little trying as possible. The place of confinement selected was La Cruz, the building in which Maximilian had voluntarily resided during the siege of Queretaro ; and when he found himself once more within the walls of his former apartments, to all outward appearances the same but now become his prison, his feelings must have undergone some bitter trials.

The privacy which he had every reason to expect, moreover, was not vouchsafed to him. The many Liberal officers who had passed into Queretaro after sitting outside for over two months vainly endeavouring to capture it in open warfare, manifested all the uncouthness of their origin, crowding noisily around their imperial prisoner, displaying no attempt at restraint, and regarding the emperor with as much vulgar and offensive curiosity as one would ordinarily bestow upon some rare animal or a ferocious criminal. General Rivas Palacios willingly would have spared his captive all such annoyances had it been possible ; he was, however, mindful of the fact that were he to display any open sympathy the circumstance would be distorted and inevitably lead—as, indeed, it eventually did lead—to his own removal from his guardianship, and the substitution of a less friendly and compassionate custodian.

---

[1] The notorious 'Black Decree,' of 1865 which earned for Maximilian so much obloquy.

Two days after the fall of Queretaro the emperor and his fellow-prisoners were removed (17th May) from La Cruz to the convent of Santa Teresita, from which building the luckless nuns had been driven like scared sheep by the brutal Liberal soldiery. It was not until the 19th that General Escobedo condescended to visit his captive, and upon this occasion he was accompanied by General Diaz de Leon and Colonel Villanuéva. The interview was unmarked by any display of courtesy upon either side; but subsequent meetings between the emperor and Escobedo were productive of at least an outward show of civility upon the part of Escobedo, doubtless the result of official instructions.

Day by day summary executions of officers, who had been faithful to the Imperial cause, took place, the firing parties usually taking up their position so close to the place of the emperor's confinement that every shot must have been distinctly audible to his strained and outraged senses. General Ramón Mendez, the loyal and gallant young Mexican officer who had remained throughout an ardent partisan of the emperor, was among the first to suffer. His death proved an agonising one, for he was shot in the back as well as in the legs by his butchers, and he lived for a short while after the last volley had been fired. His last words were 'Viva el Emperador!'

Perhaps a greater shock than any which the emperor had hitherto sustained awaited him in the announcement that twelve French officers, hitherto fighting in his service, had offered their arms to new paymasters—the Liberals. The names of these renegades have been published, not, however, in the columns of any of the French newspapers of the day, for those journals, on the contrary, earnestly endeavoured to suppress all mention of an incident which brought with it an indelible disgrace to the French arms.

The twelve apostates were :—Captain Ernest de Rozeville ; Lieutenant Jean Ricot ; Captain Charles Schmidt ; Captain Henri Morel ; Captain Xavier Gaulfrerons ; Lieutenant Felix Kieffers ; Lieutenant Emile Tronin ; Ensign Eugène Bailly ; Lieutenant Théodore Heraud ; Lieutenant Emile Pejuin ; Lieutenant Victor Nomel, and Lieutenant Paul Guyon.

The very satisfactory but characteristic act performed by General Mariano Escobedo in declining, with expressions approaching scorn, the offer of these wretched time-servers, must, to some extent, have softened the humiliation experienced by Maximilian. The Mexican general's reply was to the effect that : 'The cause of the Liberals could be fought out by themselves, and that he would not accept the services of people who, in the face of their suffering companions, could make such an infamous offer, and from whom a similar behaviour might be expected upon a similar occasion.'

The stigma thus cast upon French valour and military honour was deeply resented by the many other French officers who had become prisoners in the hands of the Liberals. These lost no time, after the news of the treachery of their companions had reached them, in addressing a fervent and loyal communication to Maximilian, apologising for the incredible and indelible disgrace which had been brought upon them by association, and assuring him of their complete abhorrence of such an act. 'Comme ces officiers (qui, pendant tout le siège, n'ont assisté à aucune affaire) sont Français,' they wrote, 'et que votre Majesté pourrait croire qu'ils ont été les interprètes de nos sentiments, nous nous empressons, Sire, de rejeter toute participation à cet acte inqualifiable, qui a soulevé notre indignation.'

For the third time, Maximilian was transferred to fresh prison quarters. Owing to the intercession of the Princess zu Salm Salm, who had now joined her husband in Mexico, the emperor 's lotwas somewhat ameliorated. From the convent of Santa Teresita Maximilian at first had been removed to the Pantheon, in the convent of the Capuchinos, the apartment allotted to him being a cold stone vault wherein numerous dead and forgotten monks had been interred. The prisoner, unaccustomed to such treatment, at once fell ill, and his physician, Dr. Basch, who had been permitted to visit him, found him suffering from a severe attack of intermittent fever. On the 24th of May, the emperor, as a consequence of Princess zu Salm Salm's efforts, was allowed to change his quarters to a smaller but more airy room, situated in an upper storey of the same convent building ; his new abode, however, was carefully guarded by day and night, and no one, without possessing an order from General Escobedo himself, was permitted to hold any converse with him.

Maximilian's cell was situated, as already stated, upon an upper, in fact the second, storey of the convent, and gave out on to a small stone-paved quadrangular yard, or *patio*. Around three sides of the yard ran a gallery, open to the air, and built of stone arches, which, at one time, had been adorned with trellis work, now broken and crumbling to pieces. The fourth side of the *patio* was separated from the third side by a low wall.

The doors of the cells opened upon a passage which, again, gave access to the gallery of arches, while the windows of the room also looked on to the courtyard. A staircase of stone which led from the lower floor stood in one corner, conducting to several additional cells which were occupied by General Miramón, General Méjìa and several other of the emperor's former officers now prisoners.

The apartment occupied by Maximilian was extremely small, measuring but 6×4 paces. In the centre of the stone-flagged floor stood a small square table, and the only luxury allowed the prisoner consisted of four silver candlesticks furnished with wax candles, and a few personal articles of his toilette. One other table used for writing, two common deal chairs, a small wash-stand and a camp bedstead, with one thin mattress, completed the furnishings of this cheerless and comfortless apartment.

Owing to his continued indisposition, Maximilian passed the greater portion of the day in his bed, that indeed, being the only article of furniture which offered any semblance of ease. His nights, however, were restless and his days full of discomfort, principally on account of the continual noises which were not alone permitted but openly encouraged by the ill-bred officers of the Liberal ranks, who considered it 'admirable sport' to incite the troops on guard in the *patio* to create as much clatter and din as possible, so that their prisoners should not be able to enjoy any but the briefest periods of repose.

It had been made known to Maximilian that his trial by court-martial was shortly to take place, and he, therefore, had to devote his attention to the preparation of his defence. Notwithstanding his continued illness he gave a great deal of attention to the subject, for he was mercifully in ignorance of the fact that any defence, however complete, would prove unavailing, since he was doomed to a violent end from the moment that he had fallen into the hands of his relentless enemies. This fact was perfectly well known to his faithful attendants the Prince and Princess zu Salm Salm. To the former General Rivas Palacios had confided the intelligence that there existed 'no hope whatever' of the emperor's life being spared. The 'trial,' therefore, was likely to prove little else than an empty farce.

Princess zu Salm Salm's first acquaintance with Maximilian was brought about on the 19th May 1867, precisely one month to the day before he was led out to execution on the Hill of the Bells. The visit took place in the prison of Santa Teresita, where the unhappy monarch lay sick in bed. Upon hearing of the princess's arrival, however, he would have insisted upon rising, in order to be able to receive her with as much ceremony and courtesy as if he were welcoming her to his own palace at Miramar. But he was too ill to leave his couch.

'I found him,' says the sympathetic lady, 'in a miserable bare room, in bed, looking very sick and pale. He received me with the utmost kindness, kissed my hand and pressed it in his, telling me how glad he was that I had come.'

With much womanly insight, she adds in her memoirs: 'The first thing was to make the emperor and my husband a little more comfortable, and especially to buy fresh linen for them, which they greatly wanted and missed very much.'

This interview proved one of many, and throughout their brief and sorrowful acquaintance the princess showed the utmost devotion to the afflicted prince, serving him with a fidelity which was pathetic in its intensity, and undertaking difficult and dangerous journeys on his behalf which would have taxed the resources and the temper of a powerful man.

Agnes, Princess Felix zu Salm Salm was in many respects a very remarkable woman. An American by birth, in her younger days she had been subject to a very hard life, and when but twelve years of age she had run away from home and joined a wandering troupe of acrobats. She became an accomplished, but never a celebrated, bareback horsewoman, and one day, while giving an exhibition of her powers in the arena of a provincial circus, she attracted the attention of the Prince zu Salm Salm, who happened to be in the small town at which the troupe was performing. An attachment at once sprang up, and notwithstanding his own exalted birth and the lowly pedigree of the lady, a marriage took place and proved an exceedingly happy one in every way. The young couple went through many stirring adventures together, and to the last days of their married lives they remained devoted to one another.

To Maximilian the arrival of the princess at the gloomy prison of Queretaro proved exceedingly welcome. At all times a warm admirer of feminine attractiveness, and keenly alive to the charm of a witty, resourceful woman, the imprisoned emperor regarded her appearance as singularly opportune. The unswerving devotion shown by her husband, the prince, had proved throughout a source of deep consolation to the emperor, and his affection for the fine, manly young Prussian officer, who had so wholeheartedly and unselfishly thrown in his lot with that of his unfortunate imperial master, ranks as one of the most touching, as it was certainly one of the most notable, episodes of the Mexican adventure.

With the conviction of his doom borne in upon them, the whole thoughts and efforts of the Salm Salms were devoted to the perfection of some scheme of escape for the emperor, and for his flight either to the coast or, if possible, across the border into the United States. Himself a prisoner, subject to the same watchful surveillance on the part of his gaolers, the prince could take no active steps in the arrangement; the emperor became, therefore entirely dependent upon the unaided efforts of the princess, who at this time was permitted to come and go fairly often upon visits to both of the prisoners.

Princess zu Salm Salm had first arrived in Mexico City in the month of April 1867, at the time that Maximilian was shut up in Queretaro with his troops. Her very natural wish was to see her husband, from whom she had been separated for some time; but in order to do so it was necessary to obtain permission from the Commandant of the troops investing Mexico City, who then happened to be General Porfirio Diaz.

General Diaz, from the first, had evinced a keen dislike of the hustling American princess; also he shrewdly suspected her, and as it transpired with good reason, of designs leading to the escape of Maximilian, and of the intention of carrying messages from the garrison at Mexico City which might facilitate an attack against the besiegers. He, therefore, refused the request that she might enter the town of Queretaro, and at first remained proof against all persuasion or argument.

Towards the end of the month of April, General Diaz ordered Princess zu Salm Salm to leave the Republic altogether; her passports were made out and handed to her by an adjutant. This decree of banishment, however, did not suit the plans of the lady, who point-blank refused to leave. She hastened to the general's headquarters to protest, but she was refused admission. For six hours of one day the persevering woman hung about the premises, but was finally compelled to return unsuccessful. On the morrow, finding that she had not obeyed his orders to quit the neighbourhood of Mexico City, General Diaz despatched a carriage and a special escort to conduct her to the railway station *en route* for the coast. The further refusal of the lady to comply might have led to her forcible deportment, but for the timely arrival at Mexico City of General Baz, who carried considerable weight with Porfirio Diaz, and who not only procured a reversal of the order of banishment but a formal permission to proceed to Queretaro.

Notwithstanding the fact that the high road between that town and the capital was infested with robbers, and that an escort beyond the city limits had been peremptorily refused by General Diaz, the princess determined to make the journey. She again proved fortunate. Señor Para, a leading member of the Liberal party, happened to be travelling with mounted and armed servants in the same direction. He offered his escort, and this was cheerfully accepted.

The journey occupied four days of hazardous and arduous travelling, and even when it had been accomplished the princess found that her trials were not over. Arrived before the gates of the town wherein her husband was confined, admission was refused to her by the commander of the Liberal troops, General Escobedo, who would on no account allow the princess to pass through his lines. It, therefore, became necessary to procure the direct authority of President Juarez, who was at this time conducting his government at San Luis Potósi. To reach him a further journey of three days, in coach and on horseback, was indispensable. The plucky American woman, now escorted only by Lieutenant-Colonel Aspirez, who had been commissioned by General Escobedo to conduct her to her destination, started upon the long and tedious journey, which was accomplished without incident. Several

MAXIMILIAN IN HIS PRISON AT QUERETARO RECEIVING HIS ATTORNEYS, SEÑORES RAFAEL MARTINEZ DE LA TORRE AND MARIANO RIVAS PALACIOS

days were passed in San Luis Potósi awaiting the president's permission to enter the doomed town of Queretaro, and this was not obtained before its fall by treachery and the capture of the Emperor Maximilian and his entire following.

The news of the capture of Queretaro is given by Princess zu Salm Salm in her book[1] as having taken place on '10th May,' whereas her husband Prince Felix, in his *Diary* (p. 190, vol. i.) put the date as '15th May.' The actual time was between the night of 14th May and the morning of 15th May. This is corroborated by Señor José Luis Blasio, the young Mexican secretary of the emperor, who was with him during the whole duration of the siege of Queretaro, and attended him in his imprisonment.

---

[1] *Ten Years of My Life*, vol. i. p. 286.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Trial—Law of 25th January 1862—Personnel of Court—Maximilian refuses to appear in person—Counsel for prosecution and defence—Cases of Charles I. and Jefferson Davis are cited—Attitude of the Judges—Accused's answers to charges—Verdict and Sentence—Pleading for pardon by Princess zu Salm Salm with President Juarez—Painful scene—Juarez's attitude considered—His character and career.

At the time of Maximilian's trial by court-martial, the Republic of Mexico was being governed under the Constitution of 5th February 1857. One of the provisions was to the effect that courts-martial could only try offences which came clearly within the scope of military discipline, and it was a very moot question whether Maximilian's offence was 'military' or 'political.' On the other hand, the Constitution stipulated that in 'cases of invasion, grave perturbances of the public peace or any other circumstances involving the community in serious perils or conflicts, the President of the Republic, acting in concert with his Cabinet, and with the approval of Congress, or, during its recesses, of the Standing Committee, might suspend the constitutional guarantees with the exception of such as safeguard human life'; but 'he must have recourse in this measure for a limited period of time only, and by means of general provisions, for in no case might the suspension be aimed at a given individual.'

The trial, as a fact, was based upon the later special law of 25th January 1862, which provided for the execution on the spot of capture of all who were caught bearing arms against the government—a trial which in this case could have but one verdict—that of guilty, and but one sentence

—that of death. It has to be borne in mind that the Imperialists had passed a similar law with even more cruel and drastic regulations since even women and children were comprised within its scope, the 'Black Decree' of 3rd October 1865.[1]

The court, which assembled at Queretaro, was ordered by the Supreme Government, the decree being dated from San Luis Potósi (the seat of the Republican Government at that time) 8th June 1867. The final day of hearing appointed was 13th June; the court was composed of the president, Lieutenant-Colonel Plato Sanchez (who was afterwards shot by his own men in battle) and several commanders and young captains, some of whom were so ignorant that they could neither read nor write. Their names were: José Vicente Ramirez, Emilio Lojero (Commanders of Battalions) Ignacio Jurado, Juan Rueda y Auza, José Verastègui y Lucas Villagran (Captains).

The prosecuting counsel were Lieutenant-Colonel Licenciado[2] Manuel Aspirez, and his assistant or junior, Licenciado Joaquin M. Escoto.

Although the counsel originally engaged for the preparation of the defence of Maximilian and his two generals Méjìa and Miramón had been Señores Licenciados Martinez de la Torre and Mariano Rivas Palacios, it was not they who appeared for the defence at the trial. The two advocates finally selected to address the court were Señores Jesus María Vasquez and Eulalio María Ortega, two very distinguished and capable pleaders and eloquent speakers.

The court room was the Iturbide theatre of Queretaro, a large and handsomely decorated building affording accommodation for about twelve hundred spectators.

The public parts and the stage of the theatre were gaily decorated with a profusion of flags and bunting of the Republican colours—green, red and white—while, in spite of the brilliant sunshine without, the whole of the gas lights within were turned up to the full. A large number of the public and military, provided with tickets as for a theatrical performance, assembled, but not a single lady of Queretaro availed herself of the opportunity afforded. A few women of the *demi-monde*, friends of the officers forming the court-martial, were accommodated with prominent positions, but otherwise the brilliant uniforms of the Liberal officers alone provided any colour among the spectators.

---

[1] See Appendix v.

[2] Licenciado, licentiate or doctor of law, equivalent to 'barrister.'

Of the three prisoners summoned to appear two only were present, General Miramón and General Méjìa. The Emperor Maximilian had refused to be present, firstly, because he declined to recognise the authority of the tribunal before whom he was asked to plead, and secondly, because his state of health was now very low; he could hardly rise from his bed or walk without assistance.

At 6 A.M. fifty men of the Cazardores and fifty of the Guardia de Supremos Podores were marched to and surrounded the Capuchinos convent, from which the prisoners were summoned and commanded to follow to the court. This was located but a few steps away, and was reached in silence through a large but generally sympathetic crowd of citizens.

Senior prosecuting counsel commenced his address at 10 A.M., the court having assembled as early as 8 A.M., and throughout he referred to the 'Señor Archiduque Maximiliano,' upon no occasion bestowing upon him the title of 'Emperor of Mexico.' The history of the French invasion was traced without either heat or passion, and the whole oration was singularly free from abuse or venom. The result of the trial was so well known beforehand and the sympathies of the court so well appreciated that there arose no necessity to do more than present the main facts, call the necessary witnesses, and demand the customary penalty. At first the officers of the court made a great display of taking notes of the proceedings, their diligence in this respect being only equalled by their assumption of imposing judicial dignity. Before long, however, they cast aside all further pretence of assiduity or deliberation; they merely stared unconcernedly about the court. From this they descended to chatting audibly with one another and making friendly signs to their acquaintances; with the course of the proceedings, in the end, they evinced no concern, and so far as the effect produced upon the tribunal was concerned, counsel for both the prosecution and the defence might have as well addressed themselves to the walls or the ceiling.

The advocates engaged for the defence were faced with the initial difficulty that the crime for which the prisoners stood arraigned was too manifest to bear either explanation or justification. They could not dispute the fact that the accused had been captured with arms and that those arms had been directed against the Republic. That the same verdict and the same sentence would have had to be registered against the whole of the Imperialist troops in Queretaro, numbering several thousands, did not affect the question. The court was merely concerned with the proceedings at present initiated against the three accused. The defence, therefore, took up the position of suppliants for mercy, and directed their attention to proving that at least Maximilian, a non-Mexican, should be judged upon a different plane from that of native revolutionists.

Counsel for the prosecution had denounced the 'Archiduque Maximiliano' as a filibuster, and as having arrived from his own country in Mexico with the express determination of creating a condition of disorder and a subversive movement. This the defence combated by pointing out that the condition of the country had been disturbed long prior to the advent of Maximilian, that the French troops had been in Mexico for over two years before he arrived, and that so far from having been the cause of the invasion he, like the Mexicans themselves, had become its victim. Further, his excuse for having come was the formal call and formal election by a considerable number of the Mexicans themselves, who had proffered him the crown and conferred upon him full imperial authority. He had not come unknown or unbidden; his virtues and attainments were world-celebrated, and his personal character was unassailable; his earnest and honest desire had been always to bring peace and not a sword to Mexico, and if he had failed it was the fault of his advisers and their false direction. Let it be remembered, urged his advocates, that the archduke had arrived in the country almost alone, unarmed, and without either escort or military attendants. How, then, could it be said that 'he had invaded the country'? A reference to his *pronunciamientos* and a review of any of his public declarations would show how peaceful and how benignant were his intentions, and how deeply he sympathised with Mexico and the Mexicans.

A further strong point was urged in favour of Maximilian by his counsel, who naturally seized upon any and every incident, little or great, which might tell in his favour. It was shown that he had acted very honourably when, urged by Napoleon III. to confirm the treaty arranged by General Miramón, by which the rich State of Sonora was to be transferred to France, he had steadfastly declined to confirm the pact, notwithstanding by so acting he had seriously jeopardised his financial position with the French emperor. It would have been an easy matter for Maximilian to have consented, and have thus relieved, at least for a time, his pressing monetary difficulties. Instead of adopting this policy, however, he had cancelled the treaty, and dismissed the responsible minister from his post.

It was deemed advisable to make as little reference as possible to the passing of the 'Black Decree.' It was sought, however, to throw the entire blame for this abominable enactment upon the shoulders of the absent Marshal Bazaine, who was indeed the real author of the measure. It had been drafted by the Marshal, as Maximilian had subsequently admitted, and Bazaine had represented to him that its passage was absolutely necessary to the restoration of order, especially regarding the numerous bands of brigands who, under the pretext of serving the Liberal government, plundered the whole country and rendered the highways continually dangerous for peaceable travellers. The emperor's counsel reminded the court that quite voluntarily the illustrious accused had, on 21st October of 1866, instructed Marshal Bazaine that the Decree had been revoked *de facto*, and that all courts-martial should thenceforth cease to interfere with political delinquencies. The three imperial ministers—Larès, Marin and Tavera—had been authorised accordingly, for, as the emperor had written to Bazaine, 'these things weigh upon my mind, and I desire at once to throw off the responsibility incumbent upon me in respect to them.'

But it could not be forgotten that under this Decree the Liberal Generals Arteaga and Salazar had been executed by the Imperialist General Mendez. Although, it was known that the whole draft of the objectionable document was in the handwriting of Bazaine, he alone among the emperor's advisers declined to sign it.

Further, it was attempted to show that a person who was honestly and conscientiously striving to effect a reform could not be judged by the standard applied to mere revolutionists and self-seeking agitators. Copious references were made to the case of King Charles I. of England, and to the opinions laid down by Henry Hallam, the historian, in his famous *Constitutional History of England*, which then, as now, was recognised among law students and political speakers as the standard authority upon the Tudor and Stuart constitutional history.

In conclusion, Licenciado Ortega called the attention of the judges to the recent case of Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President of the United States, who had seceded with many hundreds of thousands of citizens from the authority of the American Union only a few years before. Although accused of complicity in the murder of President Lincoln, and notwithstanding that he had been in arms against the Republic for four years, the worst punishment inflicted upon Davis had been imprisonment in 'Fort Monroe.'[1] Jefferson Davis had been an American citizen, whereas Maximilian was a foreigner. If a crime upon the part of a citizen was punished so lightly, how could it be urged that death was to be the portion of a stranger? Davis had not been tried by a court-martial, nor had he been in any way exceptionally punished; why was Maximilian, whose offence had been less serious and less occasioned by selfish motives, to be signalled out for a treatment so severe and so cruel? Would it not redound to the everlasting glory and reputation of the great Mexican people if they treated this illustrious, if misguided, stranger with mercy and consideration?

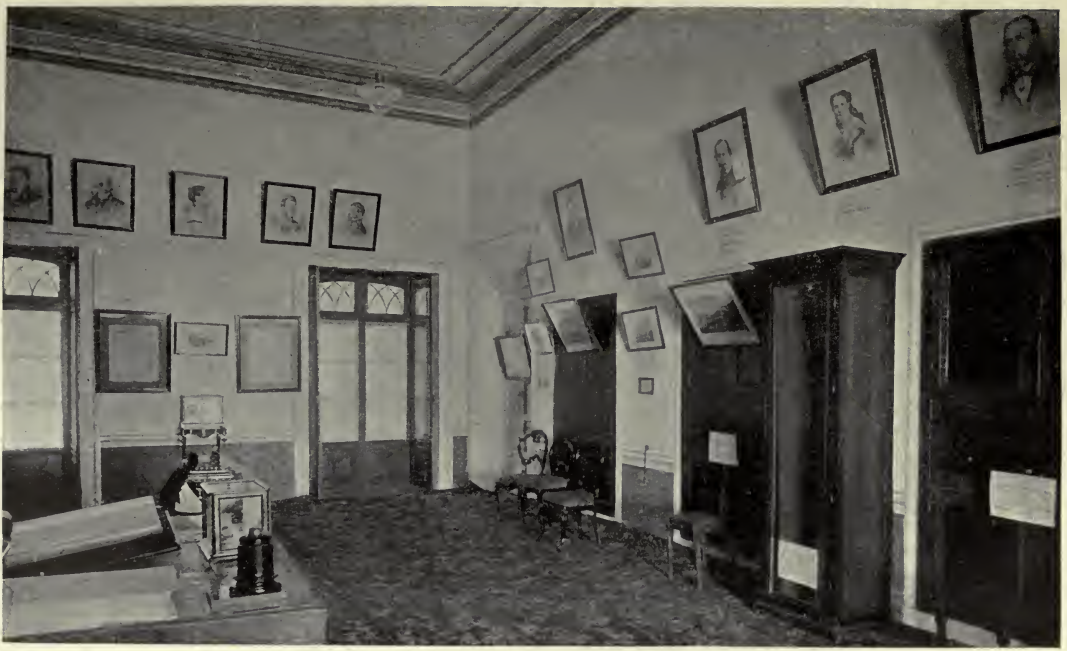
---

[1] Jefferson Davis was released after three years' confinement, and then retired into private life, dying twenty-one years later, in 1889.

This *argumentum ad populum* failed entirely, as might have been foreseen. The judges were impotent to render any verdict but that of 'Guilty,' and just as unable to modify the character of the penalty. If mercy were to be shown at all, it must emanate from the fountainhead—that of the Supreme Executive, the President.

The trial lasted two days, coming to a conclusion on the evening of the 14th June. The three accused were found guilty of having borne arms against the Republic, and, in accordance with the terms of the law of 25th January 1862, they were sentenced to be shot. The two Generals Miramón and Méjìa listened to the sentence, as they had submitted to the speeches of counsel upon both sides, in stolid silence. They were well aware that the end would be as it had, indeed, proved, and they were affected neither by feelings of despair nor of hope as to the outcome. They left the court as they had entered it, with their heads held high and their courage wholly undaunted.

Miramón was enduring great physical pain from the bullet wound in his face which he had received during the last few days of the siege of Queretaro, and to which but scant attention had been paid by the surgeons. Nevertheless he sat patiently through the long hours of the court-martial without affording any indication of the bodily torture through which he was passing. He remembered that he had once been President of the Republic which had now disowned him and regarded him as a pernicious rebel, and he wished to show that, at least, he was no physical coward.



HISTORICAL ROOM IN THE MUSEUM AT QUERETARO CONTAINING SEVERAL MAXIMILIAN RELICS

Tomás Méjìa throughout the whole Maximilian period stands forth prominently as a noble and loyal character, having been considered by some historians, indeed, as the grandest military personification of his day. He shone by his immutable fidelity and devotion both to the clerical and the imperial causes. He was as much loved by the general public and his soldiers as he was implicitly trusted by Maximilian his sovereign.

The results of the trial and the passing of the death sentence upon the emperor and his two favourite generals were conveyed to Maximilian as he sat ill and alone in his prison-cell. There was no human sympathiser near by to mitigate the force of the disturbing intelligence, no friendly or consolatory presence to break the chilling formality of the proceedings, rendered as offensive as possible by the manner of the officers responsible.

General Escobedo had signed the record of the proceedings and endorsed the death-sentence immediately they were submitted to him, and he had appointed as the date of execution two days hence—the 16th of June at daybreak. He had bluntly refused any postponement, and declined to consider any representations made to him to this effect by the Prussian minister, Baron von Magnus. To the latter the rapid consummation of the whole proceedings and the determined denial upon the part of the authorities to show any clemency to the condemned emperor, had come as a stunning blow. He had fully believed to the last moment that the sacred person of Maximilian would never be injured, and he had openly boasted that the 'cousin of all Europe' was absolutely immune. He now found that he had been cherishing a delusion ; he was faced with the stupendous fact that in two days' time the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, to whose brilliant court he had been accredited but a short while before, would have passed away by means of a shameful death.

Maximilian, however, remained absolutely calm and resigned. From the hour that he had handed over his sword to General Mirafuentes on the 15th of May, upon the fall of the city of Queretaro through treachery, just one month earlier, he had cherished but faint hopes of release. His own extreme physical weakness and the acute mental distress occasioned by the great affliction which had overtaken his dearly-loved wife, had further conduced to a feeling of apathy which caused him to regard with indifference even so momentous an event as his condemnation.

Upon the morning of the 16th June, Maximilian was fully prepared to meet his doom. He had passed the previous day arranging his worldly affairs with the assistance of his young secretary, José Luis Blasio, and he had occupied the hours of the night in fervent prayer. His deeply religious nature and firm belief in the goodness of his Maker had never wavered, and he felt, young as he was and ambitious as he once had been, that he could resign with but little compunction his earthly possessions for a happier future state.

Day broke and the sun arose, but no messenger came to summon him to his death. At eleven o'clock, however, he was visited by Colonel Miguel Palacios and General Refugio Gonzales, attended by a company of soldiers; the general read out to the prisoner with great deliberation and unctuous phrases the sentence of death which had been passed two days before, and with the terms of which the emperor was perfectly well acquainted. The hour appointed for the last act was three o'clock of that same day. Turning to his physician, Dr. Basch, who was then present, Maximilian observed with a wan smile, 'Three o'clock is the hour. Then we have a few more hours in which to complete our affairs; we can easily finish everything.'

As the appointed time approached, the three condemned men left their cells by order of the commanding officer, and ranged themselves in the prison corridor. There they remained standing, Maximilian conversing in low, earnest tones with his confessor and two of his counsellors, who had likewise been permitted to hold a last interview with him.

The destined hour had almost passed when a messenger entered with a telegram from San Luis Potósi addressed to Colonel Miguel Palacios. Opening and perusing it with undisguised impatience, the colonel curtly informed the waiting condemned that 'by order of the President the execution had been postponed for three days—until 19th June.'

The intelligence was received with feelings of regret and dissatisfaction by all three. Not one among them believed for a moment that this respite meant a pardon, and they regarded it as but a further indication of the brutally-disposed Executive to play with their lives and to sport with their hopes and fears, and so to prolong their mental torture as long as possible. In cherishing this belief they were unjust towards Benito Juarez; he had yielded, weakly and reluctantly, to the well-intentioned importunities of the Princess zu Salm Salm and the Baron von Magnus who had proceeded hot haste to San Luis Potósi to plead for a postponement. The condemned had no knowledge of this, and in fact were never made acquainted with the strenuous efforts which up to the last hour of their lives were made to procure their pardon.

The intelligence of the reprieve, however, had produced a marked effect upon the good spirits of Prince Felix zu Salm Salm. In his solitary cell in the same prison, he had been enduring a period of keen mental agony on the morning of the day first appointed for the execution of his revered emperor and most sympathetic friend; to his imagination every slight sound that passed within the prison walls, which contained yet separated them both, spelt the fatal termination of their brief but ever-to-be-remembered connection.

When, at length, the fact was made known to him that the president had tardily consented to a three days' postponement of the execution, the prince unwisely regarded this act as a preliminary to the emperor's release, and he celebrated the news by ordering a bottle of the best wine which the prison authorities could provide, and invited all who would join to drink to 'the health and long life of Maximilian.'

He even occupied his time during the following day in perfecting a means of escape from his cell, by removing some stone slabs and then leaping to liberty. But his joy was soon dispelled. For on the morning of the 18th he learned, upon the unimpeachable authority of Colonel Villanuéva, that the president's reprieve meant nothing more than it bore on the face of it, three days' grace only, and then—death for the emperor. Nothing on earth, his informant added, could save him, and his life was as irretrievably forfeit as if no delay had been granted.

It had been decided as a preliminary that an earnest effort should be made to have the trial of the emperor, which had been fixed for 13th June, postponed. In order to obtain this concession it would be necessary, however, to see the president personally. Benito Juarez was still at San Luis Potósi, a town situated at a distance of nearly one hundred and sixty miles from Queretaro. The princess again undertook to execute the commission, having made the journey upon a previous occasion, but before leaving the town of Queretaro, she obtained from General Escobedo a promise that the extreme penalty against Maximilian should not be exacted until she had had sufficient time to communicate with him from San Luis Potósi. Escobedo promised—'Mexican fashion.' That is to say, he had no intention of keeping to his word, passing it merely in order to rid himself of an importunate and persistent woman.

Accompanied only by her European maid, Marghérita, and her unwilling native escort, Lieut.-Colonel Aspirez, the Princess zu Salm Salm entered upon her second long and wearisome coach journey to San Luis Potósi. Three days and two nights were consumed in this manner, but the plucky woman uttered no complaint; eventually she found herself once more in the city which the Liberal president had temporarily made his government headquarters.

This second journey undertaken to San Luis Potósi, by the Princess zu Salm Salm was ostensibly to personally present to President Juarez an autograph letter from Maximilian, requesting a delay of two weeks' time before his trial was held; really her intention was to plead for the emperor's release. General Escobedo with suspicious alacrity—for he thought that the lady's mission would prove useless—offered not only a letter to Juarez but the loan of some mules for the private carriage which was to convey the traveller to her destination.

Very much to the surprise of General Escobedo and other Liberal officers, the lady's visit resulted in the postponement of the date of the trial from the 25th May to the 13th June. This afforded the prisoner the opportunity of preparing his defence, and of employing counsel to plead for him before the tribunal charged with the conduct of the trial. The princess undertook the mission of engaging the best available legal assistance and hurried away to Mexico City towards the last days of May, arming herself as a precaution against any opposition from the Liberals, who were then besieging the city, on the one hand; and from the Imperialists (under General Marquez) who were defending it, on the other. Little seems to have escaped the attention and watchfulness of this singularly clever and resourceful woman.

From General Escobedo, enemy though he was, the princess wheedled a letter addressed to General Porfirio Diaz, commanding the besieging troops before the capital, and which ran to the following effect:

To General Porfirio Diaz: Tacubaya.[1]

'QUERETARO, 29*th May* 1867.

'MUCH HONOURED FRIEND AND COMRADE,—

'Princess zu Salm Salm passes through Tacubaya on behalf of Maximilian, to hasten the arrival of the counsel whom he has chosen to defend him. Having regard to her sex, I have taken the liberty of recommending her to your kindness, not doubting that you will assist her.

---

[1] Tacubaya is a suburb of Mexico City, situated at a distance of thirteen kilometres.

'Assuring you of my regard, I remain your friend and comrade, M. Escobedo.'

From the emperor, who, strangely enough, still believed that General Marquez was loyally defending the Imperialists in the capital, whereas he was actively engaged in attempting to betray it into the hands of the Liberals, providing he could secure immunity for his own life, the princess received a letter addressed to Marquez as follows :

'To Don Leonardo Marquez, Division General.

'My dear General,—The bearer of these lines is Princess zu Salm Salm, who has the kindness to go to Mexico (City) for the arrangement of family affairs of much importance; and to speak with the lawyers who will defend me. You will, for the time of her sojourn in Mexico (City), do all that can be useful and agreeable to the Princess.—Yours affectionately,

'Maximilian.'

Other letters which were written by the emperor for use of his fair messenger were addressed to Baron von Magnus, the Prussian Minister in Mexico, the two famous advocates, Señores Martinez de la Torre and Rivas Palacios, and to Father Augustin Fischer, the ex-Imperial Secretary and Keeper of the Emperor's Privy Purse.

The visit of the Princess zu Salm Salm to Mexico City had been rendered unnecessary, since, in the meantime, the principal individuals destined to assist in the emperor's defence, having been summoned by telegraph, had arrived in Queretaro. These included in addition to the Baron von Magnus and the two Mexican advocates, Baron von Lago, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires ; Herr Schmidt, his secretary ; Herr Hooricks, the Belgian Minister and Signor Curtopassi, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires.

Arrived in the principal hotel in San Luis, the princess was left to her own resources, her gallant military escort having left her without any ceremony. His commission—to see the lady safely to her destination—was accomplished. Her further adventures could be no business of his.

Once again, however, fortune favoured the emperor's

PRINCESS AGNES ZU SALM SALM
Who rendered great Assistance to the
Emperor while in Prison at Queretaro

PRINCE FELIX ZU SALM SALM
Maximilian's faithful Follower and
prison Companion

fair advocate, for at her hotel she encountered a well-known and influential resident of the town, Señor Bahnsen, who at once offered her the hospitality of his house and his earnest efforts to obtain for her an interview with President Juarez. Some days elapsed before this much-sought-for meeting could be brought about. In the meantime the trial had been held, and the accused had been sentenced to death. Eventually Juarez consented to grant an audience to the emperor's special pleader.

The meeting proved an extremely painful one for both. Benito Juarez unexpectedly remained adamant when implored to pardon the emperor; nothing could move him from his purpose of inflicting the death penalty. He had previously returned the same uncompromising answer, he declared, to Baron von Magnus, the Prussian Minister, who had worked energetically but very tactlessly to obtain a reprieve, if not a pardon, for the condemned sovereign.

The princess then directed her entreaties to the granting of a respite of ten—nine—four or three days. The last-mentioned brief period, at length, was conceded; but anything beyond the three days was absolutely refused. The president proved inexorable. Tears could not move him, nor yet a beautiful woman's sobs and pathetic supplications. Upon her knees Princess zu Salm Salm pleaded for the life of the doomed emperor as well as for that of her husband, urging with all the eloquence of which she was capable, and her powers of persuasion were by no means slight, the duty of showing mercy to a fallen and a noble foe.

'Trembling in every limb and sobbing,' the princess writes in her *Diary*, 'I fell down on my knees, and pleaded with words that came from my heart, but which I cannot remember. The president tried to raise me, but I held his knees convulsively; I said I would not leave him before he granted his life. I saw that the president was moved; he had tears in his eyes, but he answered me in a low, sad voice:—'I am grieved, madam, to see you thus upon your knees before me; but if all the kings and queens of Europe were in your place, I could not spare his life. It is not I who take it, it is the people and the law; and if I should not do its will, the people would take it, and mine also.'

The interview was productive of nothing but the promise that the life of the Prince Felix zu Salm Salm should be spared; that of the Emperor Maximilian must be forfeit. As the distracted princess reluctantly left the presence of the man who possessed the power but not the will to grant this clemency, she noticed that the ante-room was filled with Mexican ladies, numbering more than two hundred, who were present upon the same errand of mercy as herself, to plead for the life of the emperor. Among them were the wives of Generals Miramón and Méjìa, both of whom had been condemned to be shot with Maximilian. The scene, already distressing, now became heart-rending, and no doubt Benito Juarez suffered as much as, if not more than, his fair suppliants. Throughout he had maintained a perfectly correct demeanour; his stern sense of duty—not his spirit of vindictiveness, as many historians have ascribed to him—forbade him from yielding to the pathetic appeals addressed to him.

In considering the stern and unrelenting attitude declared to have been taken up by President Benito Juarez regarding the sentence of death passed by the Queretaro court-martial upon the Emperor Maximilian, many factors must be included. Let it be remembered, firstly, that this man, of full Indian blood, had led a particularly hard and strenuous life, a life of continual struggle against the oppressive authority of others upon the one hand, and of defending his own on the other. Upon the death of his father he had been left in great poverty. He knew even at this early age the stigma as well as the benefits attaching to charity; for he was dependant entirely upon the generosity and whims of a certain Catholic friar, who, while giving him a fair education, exacted the fullest obedience and the most servile recognition.

Juarez had studied for the law, and in fact became a noted but never a celebrated pleader. He soon devoted his store of forensic knowledge to the furtherance of the career of a politician, as so many Latin-Americans have done; he was elected to the State Legislature, became a revolutionist against the tyrant General Antonio de Santa Anna and was subsequently banished; he became Minister of Justice under that president's successor, General Juan N. Alvarez, and was at a later date made President of the Supreme Court; he revolted again when General Felix Zuloaga replaced General Ignacio Comonfort as chief magistrate, and finally claimed the Executive as his right. Between 1858 and 1861 he had to fight continually for recognition, and when this was finally won he was confronted by the demands of the three Allies (England, France and Spain) which led to the invasion of his country by the second-named Power, and a six years' exhausting struggle against its arms.

Even with the disappearance of the monarchy, the troubles of Benito Juarez did not terminate. Re-elected to the presidency a few months after Maximilian had paid with his life the penalty of trusting to the solemn pledge of Napoleon III. of France, Juarez was almost at once confronted with a rebellion among his principal generals; they continually opposed and defied his authority, and at no time of his rule did he experience any prolonged period of peace.

In 1871 he was elected for the third time, but in the following year he died (18th July) somewhat suddenly, in Mexico City, of a stroke of apoplexy in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

There can be little question that, as Latin-American politicians go, Benito Pablo Juarez was an honest man, possessed of all the desire and all the intention to govern equitably. His very trials brought out his many good qualities, which included rigid abstention from pilfering from the national exchequer, the refusal of all bribes, and the stern punishment of those who were convicted of malpractices in their fiduciary capacity. His severity towards the Church party in Mexico was the outcome of his own experience and his uncompromising hatred of all forms of corruption. He had not been the pupil and confidant of a friar for nothing. All the evils which the members of his own race suffered at this time from the harshness and the cupidity of the Church sickened him and offended his sense of righteousness. This, and the extreme poverty which such a policy produced among the Indians, made him determine to put a check upon the arrogance and the rapacity of the priests.

So far as his opposition to the French intervention and the intrusion of the puppet Maximilian were concerned, Juarez was actuated by true patriotic motives. He loved his country as only an Indian can love it. He saw it assailed by an enemy immensely superior in numbers and equipment, whose object—if taken at their own description, 'that of pacifying the State,'—was an impertinence; viewed as all but the wilfully blind and perverse must have viewed it, as an attempt to dictate to a free and independent nation the form of government which it should adopt, Juarez was assuredly justified in using his utmost endeavours to break that power and release his country from thraldom.

In Maximilian he recognised no heaven-protected or exceptionally immune being; he stood rather as the pernicious enemy of his country, an interloper, the direct and immediate cause of his people being harried and harassed, persecuted and pursued by hordes of foreign troops, and the whole fabric of the Republic—built up as the result of forty years' sacrifice of life and treasure—shattered and ruined. From his point of view Mexico suffered a great grievance, and the penalty exacted was such as might have to be demanded by the victors in any other country of the world.

The most serious of the many mistakes which were made by Maximilian, no doubt under malign advice, had been the issue of the 'Decree of 3rd October 1865.' This was the official declaration more sweeping and more comprehensive than anything that had been published during the darkest days of the French Revolution, more cruel than the wholesale condemnation of the Inquisition, and as senseless as anything that had emanated from the Duke of Alva during his bloody progress through the Low Countries. All Mexicans who defended the legitimate government of their country, all who combated what they deemed to be nothing less than a piratical usurpation, all who failed to support a puppet forced upon them by the autocratic will of a foreign creditor, were condemned to suffer an ignominious death, or, as the least punishment, perpetual imprisonment in a felon's cell. It was the proscription *en masse* of nearly the whole nation, a political excommunication of those who adopted one of the noblest sentiments of human nature, the annihilation of all who could not or would not submit their necks to the yoke of a foreigner.

It is not difficult, then, to understand the spirit of bitter indignation and resentment which actuated the patriotic Juarez when, at length, he found the author of the infamous Decree a prisoner in his hands. What right had the originator of this terrible proclamation to expect clemency, when he had solemnly pledged himself to grant none ? How could he reasonably demand any consideration from those whom he had publicly proscribed and mercilessly interdicted, from men who had been witnesses over a period of years of the numerous atrocities committed in this same emperor's name upon their sons and their brothers, upon their fathers and their friends ? The revenge exacted for all this was, at the worst, a wild kind of justice.

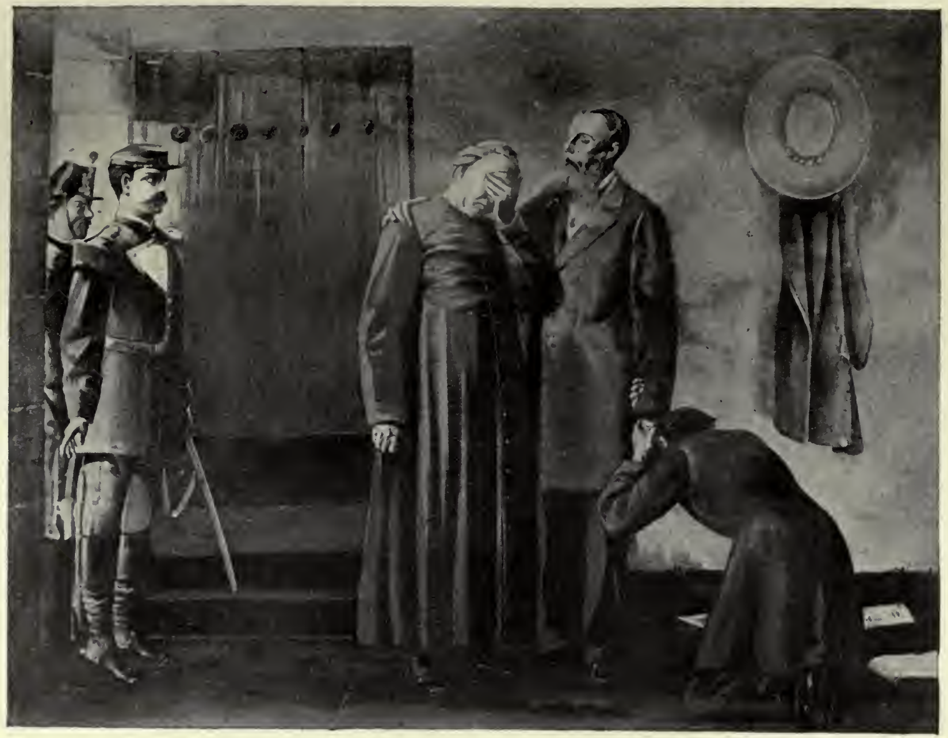
Benito Juarez, perhaps, was not a lovable man, and but rarely attracted human sympathy. In appearance he was ill-favoured, being short, narrow shouldered, slightly bow-legged and of an emaciated body. He possessed all the characteristic features of his Indian origin—high cheek bones, beady eyes, a prominent nose, black, sleek, perfectly straight hair, and a sallow complexion. He usually shunned public appearances, since the populace were never well disposed towards his person, even while they trusted his capabilities and honesty of purpose. His disinclination to distribute the loaves and fishes of office among his own supporters exclusively occasioned many enemies among his own party. His honesty, however, was recognised abroad, especially in the United States, President Abraham Lincoln having held the Indian leader in high regard. The United States Executive had written to him, according to the chronicle of Count Emile de Kératry,[1] 'We are not at open war with France, but you may reckon on money, cannon and voluntary enlistments, all of which we shall countenance.'

Independent critics have seen in the determination of Benito Juarez not to betray his country to a foreigner, a very commendable and proper resolution, and they attribute the great power which he possessed over his people to having adopted this consistently patriotic policy. He yielded to force, but throughout he refused to compromise with the enemy. In his retreat before the columns of French troops he carried with him the full republican power, which he never allowed to slip from his grasp. Although chased out of the country and compelled to seek temporary shelter across the border, he never abdicated, and with all the pertinacity of his race he clung to the responsible office to which he had been constitutionally elected by the nation. It speaks well for the influence which his high character must have commanded that throughout the many years of resistance and continual internecine warfare, the life of the old Indian was only once attempted. Nevertheless, upon frequent occasions it had been at the mercy of any fanatic or malcontent who might have chosen to take it.

Benito Juarez has been judged by some writers with unmerited harshness. When at length he had accorded a three days' grace, after the date of the execution of Maximilian had been fixed for 16th June, his act had been denounced by certain of his critics as 'the savagery of the Indian, who took pleasure in prolonging the agony of his victim and the desire to gloat as long as possible over his mental torture.'

---

[1] *The Rise and Fall of Maximilian*, p. 16.



MAXIMILIAN'S DEPARTURE FROM HIS PRISON ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 19, 1867

The Emperor consoling Father Soria, his Confessor, completely overcome by Grief

As stated, the further delay granted was obtained at the special request of Baron von Magnus, the Prussian Minister, supported by the earnest prayer of Princess zu Salm Salm, who had also telegraphed to President Andrew Johnson[1] of the United States. Johnson had previously appealed to the Mexican Executive through Mr. Lewis D. Campbell to show mercy to the unfortunate Maximilian; but his representations had proved (mainly through the scandalously neglectful manner in which they had been presented by Mr. Campbell), like others received from practically every Government of Europe, unavailing.

Princess zu Salm Salm was mercifully spared witnessing the tragic scenes which took place in Queretaro on 19th June, for after her expulsion she did not again return to that city until 1st July, when all had long since been over with the unfortunate archduke of the house of Hapsburg. The Prince Felix zu Salm Salm was still imprisoned there. He had been tried by court-martial, among several other foreigners, found guilty of bearing arms against the Republic, and sentenced to death by shooting. The date of execution had been fixed for 19th July, postponed for five days, and then deferred again *sine die*. 'As I knew for certain,' writes the princess, 'that my husband would not be shot, I did not feel much anxiety, and I remained in Mexico City; but I did not trust my assurances, and even provided for the embalming of his body.'

On 8th October 1867, among other prisoners, Prince Felix zu Salm Salm was removed to Vera Cruz, being imprisoned in the fort of San Juan d'Ulloa. But in the following month (13th November) he was finally released, and he left Mexico for ever on 15th November 1867.

---

[1] Andrew Johnson, formerly Vice-President, had succeeded President Abraham Lincoln, who had been assassinated two years previously, 15th April 1865.

CHAPTER XXIX

A multitude of counsellors—Blunders of diplomatic representatives—Plans for escape again mooted—Liberal officers' services enlisted—Cowardice of Baron von Lago causes failure of plan—Betrayal to Escobedo—Close watch over prisoners—Baron von Magnus appeals to Jaurez—He devotes his time to condemned emperor—Maximilian prepares for the end—His last correspondence—Despatch to President remains unanswered — Touching farewell to the Empress Charlotte—The Emperor's last hours.

If there is to be found safety in the multitude of counsellors, then Maximilian's position should have been materially benefited. Unfortunately, however, it proved to be a case of 'every fool meddling,' with the result that nothing whatever was done to improve the situation or in any way to affect the subsequent issue. The tactlessness of the European diplomats, especially of Baron von Lago, aggravated the emperor's gaolers, who not only redoubled their vigilance but displayed increased severity towards their prisoners. In the end, the Mexican government insisted upon the whole of the diplomatic representatives, who had been accredited to Maximilian's court but had never been recognised by the Liberal president, quitting Queretaro altogether. [Baron von Magnus, later on, was permitted to return to Queretaro in order to attend Maximilian in his last hours.] And this instruction they were compelled to obey. Had they been enabled to remain however, it is doubtful whether, associated or singly, they could have effected anything advantageous to the condemned prisoner; their presence had proved in no way helpful either to his political position or to his personal comfort.

Several different attempts had been planned for the escape of Maximilian during his imprisonment in Queretaro, but all had failed owing partly to the difficulties which had to be faced, but principally to the indecision of the noble prisoner himself. On 29th May the chances offered seemed bright, but Maximilian then refused to escape unless Miramón and Méjìa were brought away with him at the same time. It had been a long while before this extremely conscientious captive could be induced to consent to any effort to save himself. He detested the idea of 'running away' as he termed it, but finally (30th May) he admitted to his confidant, Prince zu Salm Salm, that 'Juarez not having accepted my conditions, and insisting upon considering us rebels and not prisoners of war, I feel under no obligation whatever.' But this tardy resolution proved profitless; the greatest opportunity had already gone by.

Again, however, the chance presented itself as the result of some carefully-prepared arrangements made by the Princess zu Salm Salm in conjunction with her husband. The scheme had proceeded so far that Maximilian had written a letter to the commander of the Austrian ship *Elizabeth* (Captain von Groeller), then lying at Vera Cruz, warning him of his speedy arrival: the short communication to be entrusted to Prince zu Salm Salm, read:

'QUERETARO, *June* 1, 1867.

'DEAR CAPTAIN VON GROELLER,—I send you with the present my general and aide-de-camp Prince zu Salm Salm, now chief of my household, recommending him to you most warmly. Take him on board your ship in order to *wait there for me* or my instructions.—Your affectionate

'MAXIMILIAN.'

Unluckily, on the afternoon of the day appointed for the attempt (2nd June), there had arrived a despatch from Mexico City announcing the departure for Queretaro of Baron von Magnus and the two advocates Señores de la Torre and Rivas Palacios. This ill-timed communication at once influenced Maximilian; to the consternation of his faithful and anxious followers he announced his intention of not making the attempt 'that night.' Thus the second opportunity had been foolishly squandered.

A third and last remained. Undeterred by the irritating obstinacy displayed by the emperor up till now, the Salm Salms continued their exertions on his behalf. With infinite trouble, and faced upon all sides with difficulties and dangers, it was arranged that the emperor should try to escape upon the night of 12th June. This was the night before the date which had been finelly appointed for his trial, and the time available was thus perilously short. It was all a question of money now, for his avaricious gaolers were confident that their imperial captive could be made more profitable alive than he would prove dead. Their palms were itching for the foreign gold which had been promised; but, unfortunately, ready cash in sufficient quantity was unobtainable. It therefore became a question of negotiation of bank drafts which were to bear both the imperial signature and the endorsement of certain guarantors, among them Baron von Lago and Baron von Magnus, as well as Princess zu Salm Salm.

The Mexican officers who were engaged in the plot had been fully prepared to remain on duty for forty-eight hours in order to successfully bring about the success of the arrangements.

These two Liberal officers who had been ultimately induced to lend their assistance upon this occasion, were Colonel Villanuéva and Colonel Palacios. The former was a man of some education, but, like most of the Mexican officers, he was wretchedly poor. He held the command of the whole of the guards employed in the town of Queretaro, but the real factor was Colonel Palacios, who was governor of the prison itself, and, therefore, controlled all the military who were protecting it. The 'consideration' offered had been fixed at the sum of $200,000 *pésos* (in two drafts of $100,000) to be paid to Colonel Palacios and

Colonel Villanuéva by the Imperial House of Austria; these drafts were signed by Maximilian.[1]

Palacios was an Indian without any education; he could barely read or write. His cupidity, however, was great, for he had a young and sickly wife who had recently given birth to her first child, and lacked the most ordinary necessities. Thus there was, perhaps, some excuse for this man offering to betray his trust. But the danger incurred was so great, and meant in the event of discovery so inevitably an ignominious and speedy death, that when there arose the question of accepting Maximilian's bond without the additional guarantee of the Prussian and Austrian ministers, the conspirators at first hesitated and finally refused to proceed.

After considerable pressure, Baron von Lago had been prevailed upon to sign the drafts in favour of Palacios and Villanuéva. Two days afterwards, however, having the original documents in his possession for delivery to the two officers, he suddenly repented of his action, and acting under nervous or cowardly excitement he deliberately cut off his signature, leaving the drafts mutilated and useless. Naturally neither of the officers would accept them in their then valueless form, and in order to save themselves from any consequences that an eventual discovery might entail upon them, they betrayed 'the attempt to corrupt their loyalty' to the Liberal commandant Escobedo, and so completely destroyed any small chance that might still have existed of the emperor's release being brought about.

Thus, notwithstanding the careful arrangements made by the Salm Salms for Maximilian's escape from Queretaro and his arrival at Vera Cruz, where his countrymen, Captain von Groeller, was to have awaited him, the entire scheme proved unavailing, and nothing now remained possible to save the situation. To prevent any further attempts at a rescue, the Princess zu Salm Salm, following the expulsion of the Prussian and Austrian ministers, was also commanded by General Escobedo to leave Queretaro under pain of arrest. While the plucky American woman resisted to the utmost, the two diplomats had fled in such precipitate haste that they left all their impedimenta behind—while in the case of Baron von Lago he departed with the codicil to Maximilian's will unsigned.

---

[1] Anticipating treachery, Maximilian added the condition that the drafts were to be honoured only in the event of his release and safety being completed.

Few incidents in the whole sad history of Maximilian in Mexico stand out with greater prominence than the conduct of Baron von Lago, a man of meanest disposition, innate disloyalty, and possessing but the crudest conception of duty towards his own prince. During the whole period of Maximilian's stay in Mexico, Baron von Lago had proved either useless or troublesome ; towards the last days of the ill-starred monarchical régime he had done his utmost to damn the emperor's final efforts to maintain the semblance of an army by urging all Austrians who had enlisted in his service to abandon their arms and return to their country. As we know, the great majority of them did so, departing with Maximilian's bounty and advance pay in their pockets, thus callously betraying their generous employer to his enemies and defrauding him of his money at the same time. For this act, as for the failure attending the last attempt at escape from Queretaro, Baron von Lago has been, and will by truthful historians continue to be, held responsible ; whether he acted upon his own initiative or upon instructions from Vienna it is difficult at this distance of time to say with any accuracy. But the whole of the circumstances taken in conjunction point very ominously to this latter having been the case.

Baron von Magnus had returned from his hurried journey to San Luis Potósi, there to see and entreat the president to spare the life of Maximilian, a journey which proved in vain. Nevertheless he had done everything that lay within his power as a private individual, for the president of the Republic had always refused to recognise his diplomatic position as Minister of Prussia accredited to the Imperial Court of Mexico.

Von Magnus now devoted his whole time to attending to Maximilian, to whose presence he had been admitted by the special order issued by Benito Juarez. Between Maximilian and the estimable but weak Baron von Magnus there had always been a bond of great sympathy, and in his last hours the imprisoned emperor derived much consolation from the baron's companionship.

They passed the brief time yet remaining by arranging the disposition of the few personal articles which Maximilian still owned. To Prince Felix zu Salm Salm, his faithful aide-de-camp and courageous companion through the long siege of Queretaro, was bequeathed the emperor's most treasured possession—a perspective glass which he had held almost constantly in his hand during the siege days; to the princess, who had likewise proved so devoted and loyal an adherent, he devised a handsome fan which he had occasionally used in the hot and foetid atmosphere of his prison.

As always, the reflections of the emperor were not permitted to dwell selfishly upon his own affairs; he continually thought of others, and upon the afternoon of the 18th June, his last day of life, he sent to President Juarez at San Luis Potósi a telegram asking for the pardon of his two condemned generals, Miramón and Méjìa, without soliciting any consideration for himself. This message ran:

'I would desire that Miguel Miramón and Tomás Méjìa, who suffered all the tortures and bitterness of death the day before last, may be spared, and that I, as I have already declared when taken prisoner, may be the only victim.'

No reply was vouchsafed to this telegram; at least no response reached the hands of the unselfish and high-minded emperor.

The day previous he had composed and issued a short but telling farewell message addressed to his former generals and field-officers then imprisoned in the city, which read as follows:

'QUERETARO, PRISON OF LOS CAPUCIÑOS,
June 17, 1867.

'To the Generals and Field-Officers, prisoners in this city.

'At this solemn moment I address to you the present lines in order both to acknowledge the loyalty with which you have served me, and to give to you a token of the true regard which I feel for you.—Your affectionate

'MAXIMILIAN.'

The emperor also addressed on the same day a few words of acknowledgment to his four legal advisers—Señores Licenciados de la Torre, Rivas Palacios, Vasquez and Ortega, while to President Benito Juarez he despatched a more lengthy communication, bearing the fatal date of 'June 19,' upon which it would be delivered—and reading as follows:

'To Señor Benito Juarez.

'On the point of suffering death, because I desired to try whether new institutions would enable me to put an end to the bloody war which, for so many years, has been causing ruin to this unhappy country, I will yield up my life with satisfaction, if this sacrifice can contribute to the welfare of my adopted country.

'Being fully convinced that nothing durable can be produced on a soil soaked in blood and moved by violent agitations, I implore you in the most solemn manner, and with that sincerity which is peculiar to moments like those in which I find myself, that my blood may prove the last that may be spilled, and that the same perseverance which I had appreciated when in the midst of prosperity, and with which you defended the cause which conquers now, might be applied to the most noble end; to reconcile all the hearts, and to rebuild upon a durable, firm foundation, the peace and the order of this unhappy country.

'MAXIMILIAN.'

The last private letter written by the emperor—and the composition of which occupied his saddest thoughts—was that addressed to his wife, the afflicted Empress Charlotte. It was couched in the most affectionate terms, for the bonds of attachment between them had never once been loosened

ADOBE WALL, IN FRONT OF WHICH THE EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN, MIRAMÓN, AND MÉJÌA TOOK PLACE

TEMPORARY MEMORIALS MARKING THE PLACE OF EXECUTION

during the nine years of their happy married life. The letter was as follows :

> 'My Beloved Charlotte,—
>
> 'If God permits that your health be restored, and you should read these few lines, you will learn the cruelty with which fate has stricken me since your departure for Europe. You took with you not only my heart but my good fortune. Why did I not give heed to your voice ? So many untoward events ! Alas ! so many sudden blows have stricken my hopes, that death is but a happy deliverance, not an agony to me. I shall die gloriously, like a soldier, like a monarch, vanquished but not dishonoured. If your sufferings are too great, and God shall call you to join me, I shall bless His divine hand which has weighed so heavily upon us. Adieu, Adieu !—Your poor
>
> 'Maximilian.'

There have been expressed serious doubts as to whether this pathetic and affecting letter ever reached the hands of the empress then under restraint, or whether, had it done so, she would have been able to comprehend its meaning. Unfortunately, it is clear that the unhappy lady became somehow aware of the terrible tragedy of Queretaro. The incident of the inscription upon the photograph sent to Señor José Luis Blasio, related in a later chapter, abundantly proves this. Further, soon after the seizure which resulted in her loss of reason, the empress had exclaimed in the hearing of her attendants, 'He is dead !—they will kill him !—I know the Mexicans ! '

A few hours before his death, Maximilian had also composed a letter to his brother the Emperor Francis Joseph, a document which he entrusted, with two others (one being that addressed to his wife and the other to his mother, the Archduchess Sophia), to the hands of the Bishop of Queretaro, demanding from him the solemn promise that all three missives should be delivered to their proper destinations without fail and without delay. No sooner was the breath out of the body of Maximilian than the unworthy prelate opened the three communications, and, having perused them, showed the contents to his intimate Liberal friend

General Escobedo. It is only by reason of the latter having admitted the fact that the circumstance has become generally known. It is open to doubt whether the letters intended for the Emperor Francis Joseph and the Archduchess reached their destination ; but that to the Empress Charlotte was delivered several months after the date upon which it was written (18th June 1867).

The last message addressed to the Emperor Francis Joseph by his younger brother was probably couched in terms of affection, for Maximilian seldom used any other form of expression ; probably, however, this farewell letter was not free from reproach. There was no room for doubt regarding the lack of interest shown by the Austrian Court to Maximilian's accumulating troubles and extremely dangerous position, a policy which, as we know, caused the unfortunate prince the keenest disappointment and pain.

That the Emperor of Austria repented at the eleventh hour of his attitude towards his brother should at least be recorded. Mr. Seward, writing from the Department of State on 21st June 1867, and addressing Señor Romero, the Mexican Liberal Minister at Washington, says :

'My dear Mr. Romero,—

'I am authorised to inform President Juarez that the Emperor of Austria will at once re-establish Prince Maximilian in all his rights of succession as Archduke of Austria, upon Maximilian's release, and renouncing for ever all projects in Mexico. Will you oblige me by conveying this message to President Juarez for his information, with my request that, if compatible, he will communicate the same to the Prince Maximilian for his information ?'

The irony of this despatch is unfortunately apparent ; it is dated '21st June,' and Maximilian had already been dead two days.

Princess zu Salm Salm has emphatically stated that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago, was not only a physical coward, but had studiously neglected Maximilian in his most trying time, namely when he was imprisoned at Queretaro, even refusing upon one occasion to obey the summons of his Imperial Majesty to attend him until two days had elapsed after he had received it. The same chronicler observes: ‘I believe the good Baron von Lago belonged to the great tribe which they call in Germany—‘Hasenfüsse’—‘harefoot!’

And yet Baron von Lago was the only diplomatic representative deputed by the Austrian emperor to watch over his brother's interests at the time that his life was in deadly peril.

CHAPTER XXX

Morning of the execution—The Catholic *Fête-Dieu*—Early Mass—Maximilian's last repast—Farewell greetings to Miramón and Méjìa—Procession to the Cerro de la Campaña—Popular emotion—Grief of Father Soria—The faithful Tudos in attendance—Absence of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires—The Emperor's final address—The fatal volley—Miramón's execution—The last moments of Méjìa—Return to the convent—Escobedo and the sorrow of a Mexican woman—Embalming of the Emperor's body—Brutality of the surgeons—Demand for the body of Maximilian refused—A simple memorial—Austrian admiral takes Maximilian home—Laid to rest with the Hapsburgs—Effect of news in Europe—The French court shocked—Responsibilities of Napoleon and Eugénie.

THE Mexican sun arose with customary splendour on the morning of 19th June, bathing the picturesque town of Queretaro in a flood of golden light, and touching with a faint tinge of rose colour the surrounding Sierra Gordo mountains. One by one the distant peaks—the Cerro Alto, the Cerro Colgado, the Cerro del Campanario, the Pilón, the Santa Rosa and the Cerro de la Campaña—so soon to witness one of the tragedies of all time—came into view; the morning had broken with scarcely a movement of the translucid air, and the day promised to be intensely hot.

The 19th day of June is kept by all pious Roman Catholics as one of their highest festivals, the *Fête-Dieu.* It was becoming that it should also have been the day of Maximilian's martyrdom. Other crowned heads had celebrated this great festival. St. Louis himself, in the year 1270, on the eve of his departure to the last crusade in which he shared, and which resulted in his death, went barefooted on this day of days to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame; our own King Hal, when a child, had also walked barefooted in procession to the shrine of Our Ladye of Walsingham. And to-day, a better man than either was to pass along upon his road to death.

The emperor had risen before the sun at half-past three. He made his usual careful toilet, assuming his short dark blue jacket, black trousers and waistcoat, and a wide felt hat. He was fully dressed when, at four o'clock, arrived his confessor, Father Soria, who on the previous day had administered the Holy Sacrament and Extreme Unction, forming part of that beautiful ceremony of the Catholic Church, which comprises the anointing of the eyes, nose, ears, mouth, hands and feet, usually performed by a bishop or a priest, and symbolising purification from sins committed by the parts annointed. Few mortals had probably transgressed less seriously than the unfortunate man about to die.

A solemn mass was celebrated at five o'clock, a small altar having been specially erected in a niche in the gallery of the convent to which reference has previously been made.

By half-past the hour the ceremony was complete, and Maximilian partook of a slight breakfast. To his listening ears came through the open doors and windows the sound of many voices, the murmurings of the populace who had gathered in their thousands to catch a last glimpse of the man whom they had grown to love for his gentleness of disposition and his avowed good intentions towards them. General Escobedo, in charge of the troops, was fearful of an uprising among the people, so intensely did they resent the execution of the emperor; in order to defeat any such purpose he had intentionally issued a misleading public announcement regarding the appointed time, making it one hour later than had been decided upon. His precautions were quite unnecessary, for no organised attempt at a rescue or a riot had been contemplated, and certainly the doomed emperor would have been no party to it.

At six o'clock, with the sunlight falling in a flood of golden streaks upon the paved courtyard of the convent, there arrived the platoon of ragged, ruffianly-looking soldiery, officered by a captain almost as tattered and quite as truculent in appearance, and who drew up in a straggling line with much unnecessary noise and clatter. Before the officer could address the emperor he exclaimed, 'Señor, I am ready.'

The few attendants who had been permitted to minister to him in his prison now crowded to the emperor's side, weeping and kissing his hands. Moved by so intense an expression of suffering, Maximilian gently observed, 'Be calm, my friends; you see that I am so. It is the will of God that I should die; we cannot do aught against it.'

As he passed the open doors of the cells occupied by his generals, Miramón and Méjìa, to whom also guards had been despatched to bring them out, Maximilian enquired, 'Are you ready, gentlemen? I am quite so.' Both of the fellow-condemned advanced and saluted the emperor, who affectionately embraced them, noting as he did so that Méjìa was looking extremely ill and suffering, as, indeed, he was from both physical weakness and mental anxiety respecting his young wife, from whom he had just parted.

Then, in company, all three descended the winding stone staircase, which they had climbed for the first time barely three weeks before. Through the gallery and the courtyard they marched side by side, the escort keeping close behind with cocked rifles ready at a moment's notice to shoot any one of them showing the least disposition to resist. Arrived at the street before the convent, Maximilian, as he emerged from the gloomy portal and encountered the full power of the brilliant sun, exclaimed with rapture, 'Ah! what a superb day! It was always my wish to die upon such an one, and my prayer has been answered.'

Three closed carriages, ordinary public hackney-coaches of the second-class, miserably horsed, were in attendance. Into the first Maximilian stepped, being followed immediately by Father Soria, who would have respectfully seated himself opposite; but with a gentle pressure of the hand the emperor drew down the trembling and tearful priest to his side, and the carriage moved on.

Notwithstanding General Escobedo's attempt to mislead the public, the streets were densely thronged by sad-faced men and weeping women, mostly Indians, who watched the slowly moving procession pass towards the Cerro de la Campaña with but ill-suppressed excitement born of sympathy and indignation. Most of the populace respectfully saluted the emperor and the generals as they passed, the men removing their large slouch *sombréros* and holding them in their hands or pressed upon their breasts as when a funeral procession passes them, muttering an invocation to the saints and piously crossing themselves. The women wept, sobbing unrestrainedly, and tears were very near the eyes of the emperor as he observed the sympathy of the people for himself and his lost cause.

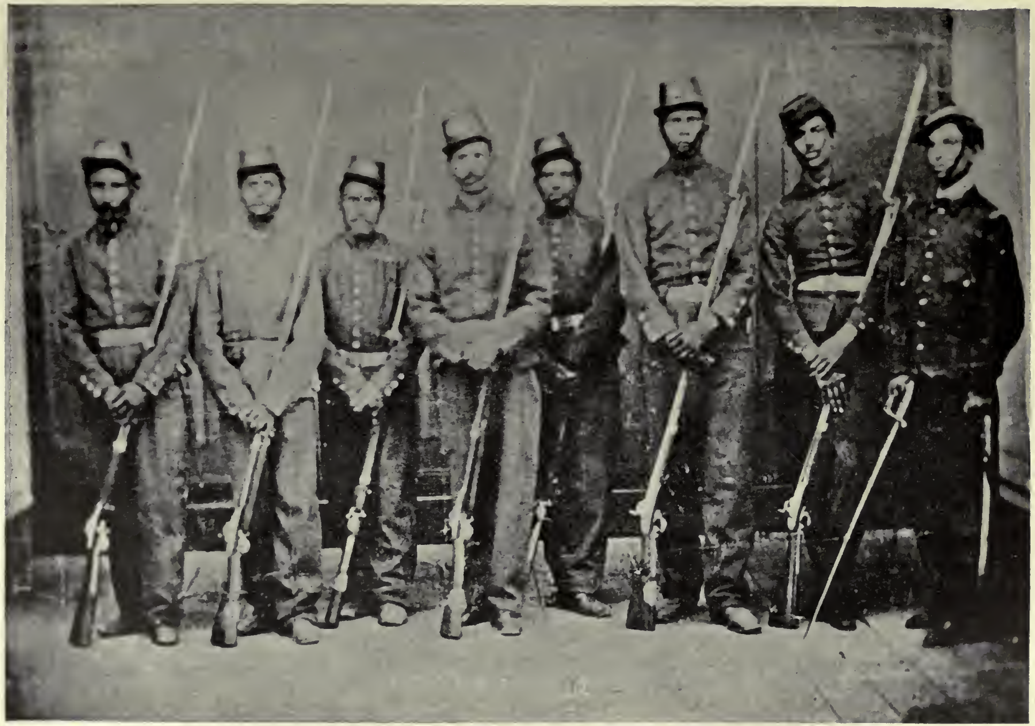
It occupied about twenty minutes for the procession to reach the foot of the Cerro, and here the three condemned were ordered to descend. The door of the emperor's vehicle had jambed when last closed and could not be easily opened. Maximilian, therefore, stepped briskly from the large window-frame to the ground, while Father Soria succeeded in opening the door and descending from the opposite side.

Here was found awaiting the emperor his faithful Hungarian servant, Tudos, who had accompanied him from Miramar three years previously. Maximilian greeted him kindly, and then enquired, 'Are you alone? Is no one else here?' He had evidently expected some among his own countrymen of whom several were then resident in Queretaro, and above all he had looked for the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago; but that craven had fled hot-haste from the town without even one word of farewell to the condemned prince, the brother of the sovereign whom he served as representative at the court of Mexico!

In the heyday of his imperial prosperity the emperor had been surrounded by a countless horde of sycophants and time-servers: now upon the day of his downfall, not one among them had troubled to come to bid him farewell! He was realising to the full Pascal's words, 'La condition de l'homme c'est l'inconstance.' But if the Austrian diplomat had not the decency to present himself, the emperor was not wholly neglected. The faithful Baron von Magnus was at hand, and upon him Maximilian smiled graciously, as he approached to salute the emperor. The consul-general of Austria, Señor Bahnsen, was also present, but owing to the number of troops surrounding the prisoners Maximilian had failed to detect him.

Father Soria, who had all through the sad proceedings exhibited intense emotion, now gave signs of a collapse. His tears and sobs came almost unchecked, and Maximilian found himself enacting the rôle of consoler, when, in truth, it was he who most needed consolation. With much kindness he comforted the sorrowing priest, begging him not to weep for one whose lot was so soon to become bright beyond understanding. He even drew from his pocket a small silver smelling bottle, and gently proffered it to the trembling friar; too nervous or too prostrated to heed, Father Soria almost dropped the bottle, which Maximilian then held to his nose. This touching little incident was told by Señora Aguirre, the wife of a Liberal minister of that day, who herself was a witness of the occurrence.

While the emperor now moved forward with firm step, followed by General Miramón, the third prisoner, General Méjìa, was found to be in a fainting condition, arising in no way from physical cowardice but from sheer bodily weakness. He had to be supported to the summit of the Cerro, where the fatal volley was to be met. The troops had already been assembled there, and formed into an open square. They were under the command of General Jésus Diaz de Leon. Where the square was left open a rough adobe wall (made of unbaked earth bricks) had been thrown up, and in front of this the condemned were ordered to place themselves. Behind each had been erected a rugged unfashioned wooden cross, while two long benches had



THE PLATOON OF LIBERAL TROOPS WHICH FIRED THE FATAL VOLLEY AT QUERETARO, JUNE 19, 1867

also been placed within reach. Near at hand were three coffins, hastily knocked together and painted a dull black, the lids being so badly made that the great gaps appeared upon either side when adjusted. Upon each coffin had been smeared a large cross in red pigments.

Maximilian placed himself in the centre of the group, and where he halted the wall behind him was slightly higher; Méjìa stood, with great difficulty, upon his left hand, while Miramón took up his position to the right. Both of the generals submitted to the bandaging of the eyes, but Maximilian, upon the approach of the officer commissioned to carry out this proceeding, gently motioned to him not to trouble. He then left his place and advanced towards the firing section, consisting of seven men, and to each of them he presented a gold coin, twenty *pésos*, known as 'Maximilian d'or,' saying, 'Muchachos (boys), aim well, and aim right here,' placing his hand upon his heart. He then returned to his position, removing his hat which he held in his left hand, and with the other he calmly wiped the perspiration from his forehead, for the day was already advanced and the June heat of the sun was making itself felt. The hat afterwards was retained by the Hungarian, Tudos, and brought by him, at a subsequent date, to Maximilian's mother, the Archduchess Sophia of Bavaria.

It is customary in all Latin countries for the politically as for the criminally condemned to deliver a farewell oration upon the eve of dissolution. It is a privilege accorded to even the worst malefactors, and one which is but seldom discarded. Maximilian's soft and well modulated voice was heard addressing the soldiery facing him, for he was too far distant for his utterances to reach the ranks of the troops and beyond them the gathering of the public who had followed them to the execution ground.

'Mexicans!' he said, 'persons of my rank and origin are destined by God either to be benefactors of the people or martyrs. Called by a great part of you, I came for the good of the country. Ambition did not bring me here: I came with the best of intentions and sincerest wishes for the future of my adopted country and for that of my soldiers, whom I thank before my death for the sacrifices which they have made for me. Mexicans! may my blood be the last which shall be spilled for the welfare of the country; and if it should be necessary that its sons should still shed theirs, may it flow for its good, never by treason. Long live Independence; long live Mexico!'

Glancing around, the emperor observed that several Indian *peons*, who had crept up behind the soldiery, were weeping; he smiled upon them encouragingly, and then faced the firing squad. Placing both his hands for a moment upon his breast just above his heart he dropped them quickly to his side. At the same moment five shots rang out clearly upon the still morning air; for a brief second the emperor did not move, then he gently swayed and fell upon his right side, whispering almost inaudibly, '*Hombre!*' ('man!'), an expression used to inferiors. All five bullets had pierced his body, and the executioners had done their work well and truly. Observing a slight twitching of the arms, doubtless caused by the contraction and relaxation of the muscles, the commanding officer approached the body and turned it upon its back. Indicating to the heart with the point of his bare sword, he silently motioned to one of the soldiers, who thereupon advanced and sent another bullet from his rifle straight through the heart.

Thus was the damnable deed completed, and thus died one of the weakest but one of the most unselfish and lovable of men, one who would have become an admirable subject but who made a very feeble sovereign.

Some doubt seems to exist whether Maximilian, before meeting his own end, believed in the reported death of his consort, the Empress Charlotte. The letter which he addressed to his wife upon the eve of his execution, and of which a copy has been given in this history, would seem to entirely disprove the statement that he believed her dead. On the other hand, we have the testimony adduced by three of the foreign diplomats who were in Mexico, Signor Jules, the

Italian Chargé d'Affaires (who had replaced Signor Francisco Curtopassi); Mynheer Hooricks, the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires; and M. Forest, the French Consul at Mazatlán. These three wrote and signed the following despatch, on 18th June: 'Maximilian wrote us on the 14th, that the Empress Carlotta (Charlotte) is dead. He thanks us also for the interest which we have manifested in him.' This despatch was sent to the French Legation at Washington in cypher, but is said to have been incorrectly translated.

General Miramón, with his eyes bandaged and his face still greatly swollen from the wound which he had received at the siege, contented himself with but a few words, addressing them not to the soldiery, but raising his voice sufficiently to enable the crowd beyond the troops to hear him.

'Mexicans,' he declared, 'my judges have condemned me to death as a traitor to my country; I never was a traitor, and request you not to suffer this stain to rest upon my memory, and still less upon my children. Long live Mexico; long live the emperor.'

The last words, meaningless since the emperor lay already dead, were cut short by a further volley, and Miramón, scarcely more than thirty-six years of age, although he had once been president of Mexico, fell prone, no movement of the body taking place, and no *coup de grace* being given.

Then came the turn of the sickly Méjìa, too weak to cry more than feebly 'Long live Mexico! long live the emperor!' The death volley was dealt somewhat hurriedly in his case, and he lived for some minutes after falling; two additional bullets had to be fired into the head and one through the heart before death ensued.

The three corpses were now cursorily examined by the surgeons present, and thereafter were wrapped in sheets of coarse material and placed in the cheap deal coffins awaiting them. So clumsily had these caskets been made that that intended for the emperor proved too short, his feet protruding by several inches. This coffin still exists, and forms one of the many exhibits in the museum at Queretaro. It is placed upright against one of the walls of the 'Maximilian Room,' still bearing traces of the blood which flowed freely from the emperor's bullet-pierced body.

The bodies of the two generals were handed over to their families, and the formal interment in consecrated ground with full ceremonial was carried out upon the same day. The unhappy Señora Miramón temporarily lost her reason, and had to be placed under restraint. The widow of General Méjìa, quite a girl in age and appearance, had but recently been delivered of an infant, and was in a dangerous condition of health.

Maximilian's body was entrusted to the care of Colonel Miguel Palacios, the man who had hated the dead emperor with an almost ferocious abhorrence, and who on account of his personal appearance and habit of squinting had been nicknamed 'El Hiena' (The Hyena). By his orders the coffin, ill-fitting and ungainly in appearance, was carried by relays of soldiers from the Cerro de la Campagña through the city, where its passage everywhere occasioned fresh exhibitions of emotion among the populace.

It is said that one poor woman, who was weeping aloud, was accosted by the 'Hyena' in harsh tones, asking, 'Why are you weeping ?' 'I am weeping for my dead emperor,' she answered defiantly. Colonel Palacios then seized and attempted to drag her to prison ; but, with a swift movement, the enraged woman stabbed him with a knife which had been concealed beneath her cloak, and in the confusion which ensued she made her escape.

The coffined body of the dead Maximilian was carried back to the chapel of the convent of the Capuchinos, where it was roughly thrown upon a table. Summoning Dr. Basch, the late emperor's physician, and a number of the imprisoned Imperialist officers, most of whom were Frenchmen, Colonel Palacios, still smarting from the wound inflicted upon him by the woman whom he had addressed, exclaimed, while pointing to the body, 'Behold the work of France !'

The sons of Gaul, naturally incensed at this only too well-deserved if melodramatic pronouncement, generally protested. It was with genuine sorrow and some feeling of self-reproach that they regarded the inanimate victim of their own emperor's treachery. Colonel Palacios had but spoken the truth when he declared this act to have been 'the work of France,' and truth, as Cowper has told us, is sometimes unwelcome.

It had been determined to embalm the body of the late emperor, and this gruesome task was entrusted to the Liberal surgeons, Dr. Riva de Nigra and Dr. Licia. The former was a man of exceptionally low origin and mean character; he had arranged with Signor Curtopassí to help Maximilian to escape for a payment of the sum of ten thousand *pésos.* At first he had readily consented, but fearing for the safety of his promised reward he deemed it prudent to sell the secret of the plot to, for a smaller sum to be paid in immediate cash by, General Escobedo.

Dr. Licia was a man of similar reputation, having betrayed General Miramón in earlier days under the guise of friendship. Dr. Basch was allowed to be present at the autopsy.

The proceedings were characterised by much unnecessary and discreditable offensiveness upon the part of the Liberal officials. Dr. Licia, when plunging his knife into the body of the dead prince, exclaimed, 'What a delight it is to me to be enabled to wash my hands in the blood of an emperor.' Then the 'Hyena' tapped upon the head of the corpse, observing theatrically, 'Oh! you would place crowns upon your head, would you? Now, perhaps, you will be satisfied with these for your crown,' and with those words he emptied over the head the intestines which had been removed from the stomach and placed in a bowl of water. Other similarly degrading acts upon the part of these monsters, types of the Mexican professional man of that day, were subsequently disclosed, proving that although dead and beyond the reach of their contemptible spite, Maximilian was still to be made the subject of their vindictiveness.

The embalming process extended over a full week.

During the operation the heart of the deceased sovereign was allowed to remain exposed upon a rough wooden bench in the chapel for an entire day; but when the operation had at length been completed, the embalmed body was placed in a shell of superior quality, and remained under military guard in the convent chapel pending its removal to Europe.

Upon the same day that the execution of Maximilian took place, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires (Baron von Lago) made a formal written application to the Mexican Government for the body of the dead emperor. The Minister for Foreign Affairs (Señor Lerdo de Tejada), however, declined to accede to the request 'for serious reasons,' and the diplomat did not press the point. The indifference which he had displayed throughout the entire proceedings, and his utter callousness regarding the physical sufferings of the sovereign while in prison, had both surprised and nauseated even the Mexicans themselves.

About ten days later Baron von Magnus (the Prussian Minister) and Dr. Basch preferred a similar request, but met with the same negative response. On 25th August, however, there arrived at Vera Cruz the Admiral von Tegethoff, commanding the Austrian frigate *Novara*. In the early days of September he approached the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon behalf of the Austrian imperial family, for permission to receive and remove the late emperor's body to Europe. The favour was again declined at first, but finally the minister consented 'provided a formal petition were presented by the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs.'

On 26th September Baron von Beust, the Chamberlain of the Royal Austrian Household, sent a special communication to the Mexican Minister reiterating the request that the body of the late Austrian archduke might be delivered to Admiral von Tegethoff for due transportation to Vienna.

By the orders of President Juarez the petition was finally granted, and on the 12th November 1867, five months after the execution, the royal remains were given over to the custody of those Austrians who had been despatched three months previously to receive them. At five o'clock on the morning of the date mentioned two plain carriages, escorted by a force of two hundred Liberal troops, appeared before the portals of the Hospital of San Andres. A small number of the men were then detailed to bring out the coffin containing the body of the late emperor, and this, after a short delay and without any kind of ceremony, was borne forth and conveyed at once to Vera Cruz.

The remains were received on board Admiral von Tegethoff's frigate with all the imposing honours which had been denied to it at Mexico City. Besides the admiral there were present his brother, Count von Tegethoff, and a large number of Austrian and Belgian prisoners-of-war, who had been released from custody and were being carried back to Europe on the same vessel. A chapel ardent was erected on the deck, heavily draped with black hangings, the Austrian flag being spread over the coffin.

Thus Maximilian went home, on board the same vessel which had triumphantly brought him, but three and a half years previously, to take possession of his new kingdom. Where he once had stood in the flesh—handsome, *débonnair*, and hopeful—side by side with his beautiful and ambitious helpmate, the Empress Charlotte—he now lay sleeping alone; after the fatigues of a short but profoundly eventful life, he had found the 'golden key that opes the palace of eternity.'

After arrival at Trieste, the body of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria and Emperor of Mexico, was laid to final rest in the crypt of the Capuchin Chapel at Vienna, where repose generations of the imperial house of the Hapsburgs.

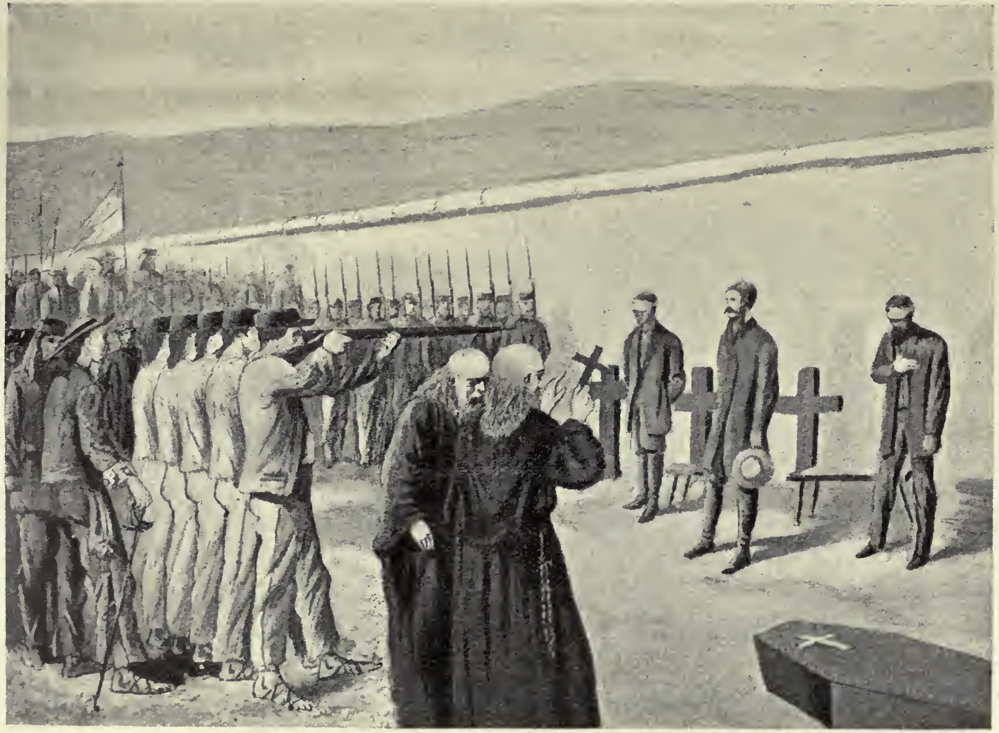
Upon the spot where the three victims of the Liberal revenge had fallen, some pious peasants erected three simple wooden crosses. For several months these remained undisturbed, when they were replaced—again by anonymous but sympathetic hands—by small stone crucifixes, and the piece of ground upon which they stood was subsequently enclosed by an ornamental iron railing. Later on a handsome Memorial Chapel was erected, and this is now carefully maintained by means of public subscription.

The Memorial Chapel is open daily throughout the year to all who choose to enter, and many visitors to Mexico make a point of doing so, to kneel for a few moments before the handsome altar and offer up a silent prayer for the soul of the dead Maximilian. The custodian presents a book for signature, and for such observations as the visitor may elect to inscribe. Many of the annotations, written in every language of the earth, are mere rubbish; pronouncing either in favour or against the sentence which was carried out on the 19th June 1867. Others form very touching tributes to the memory of the deceased, and are expressed in excellent taste and with becoming feeling.

During the presidency of General Porfirio Diaz a grant from the State funds was regularly made towards the maintenance of the Maximilian memorial. Indeed General Diaz's attitude towards the memory of Maximilian has always been above reproach. He it was who commanded that the few relics of the dead emperor should be carefully collected and placed in the 'Maximilian Museum' at Queretaro, and that the large oil-paintings of the former Emperor and Empress of Mexico should be hung in a prominent position of the National Museum at Mexico City. Here, also, are exhibited, in several large glass cases, the imperial harness, liveries, and state uniforms; while, in another portion of the building, stands the massive gilt-ornamented coach used by the imperial couple upon State occasions, and which Maximilian had ordered to be built for him in England.

Speaking of the dead emperor upon one occasion, General Porfirio Diaz observed: 'He was an amiable man, and I believe he tried to do his best. He would probably have made an excellent ruler in his own country, but we, as Mexicans, would not have him thrust upon us at the point of French bayonets.'

Upon every recurring 19th June a solemn Mass of the dead is sung at the aristocratic and historic church of Santa



ANOTHER SKETCH OF THE EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN UPON THE CERRO DE LA CAMPAÑA (HILL OF THE BELLS), QUERETARO, JUNE 19, 1867

Brigida, in Mexico City, in memory of the Emperor Maximilian, of General Tomás Méjìa, and of General Ramón Miramón. The nave is draped with crape, and the congregation, composed of members of many leading families—some of them with pronounced Republican convictions—attend attired in deep mourning.

The first public announcement of Maximilian's violent death was made on 20th June, when the Queretaro newspaper, *La Sombra de Arteaga* contained a short paragraph, setting forth the bare facts unaccompanied by any editorial comment. The journal was printed upon paper of a red hue.

It was not until 30th June, however, eleven days after the execution, that a full statement appeared in any foreign paper; the world was then horrified, and the act universally condemned. In France the announcement occasioned something like consternation, and both the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie were made the subjects of bitter reproach and much hostile comment, even in the columns of the patriotic press. The Great Exhibition of Paris was then in full swing, and the French court in the midst of a number of elaborate social entertainments. None of these could be postponed, and the anomaly was presented of a court, officially 'in mourning,' participating in a perpetual round of balls, receptions, and gala performances.

It is said that the French emperor and empress were greatly 'shocked' by the Mexican news; the affright was probably occasioned more by the dread of what public opinion would say than by any feeling of genuine remorse or of sympathy for the luckless victim of Napoleon's cold treachery on the one hand, and of Eugénie's chilling indifference on the other.

The fact was recalled that the Empress Eugénie had particularly interested herself in the sending of Maximilian to Mexico, but that it was upon her suggestion that the continued support of the French army was subsequently refused. The original idea seems to have occurred to her as far back as 1861, when agents of the defeated clericalist president Miramón arrived in Europe (afterwards being followed by Miramón himself) to discover whether any European Power would support the Church against the Liberals of Mexico. It was with bitter irony that some witty American had nicknamed Maximilian, the Archduke of Austria, the 'Archdupe of France.' Eugénie is said to have heard the joke, and to have laughed at it.

It was no less remembered that Napoleon and Eugénie had been most cordial in their reception of the new Emperor and Empress of Mexico, when they visited them to take farewell before their departure for their distant realm. Two years later this same unhappy empress came back alone to throw herself at the feet of Napoleon, imploring, importuning, supplicating him to redeem his solemn promises to her husband, now in peril of his life. Fainting with excitement and already upon the borderland of insanity, it is related that the wretched Charlotte had asked for a glass of water. Instead, a glass of orange syrup was brought to her; but pushing it aside she exclaimed, 'You wish to poison me!' Then rising from her kneeling position, the distracted woman rushed from the room and from the palace, openly cursing the folly of one who being the granddaughter of Louis Philippe could have trusted the word of a Buonaparte.

General du Barail has recorded that Eugénie treated the French officers returning home from Mexico with studied coldness and neglect, because they could bring her no good news of clerical prospects there. 'This being so,' he adds, 'we could not hope to please her. She did not grant us the honour of an audience, and we dared not to ask for one.'

The attitude of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in relation to his younger brother Maximilian has been commented upon in previous pages, but it becomes once again necessary to recall the unusual and unexpected manner which he exhibited towards both Napoleon and Eugénie very shortly after the dread drama had been played out in Mexico. In November of 1867 (the execution of Maximilian, it will be remembered, took place in the preceding June) Napoleon and Eugénie paid a visit to the Emperor

Francis Joseph and the Empress Elizabeth, at Salzburg. One would have imagined and have excused something like an exhibition of embarrassment, if not of estrangement, upon the part of the Austrian emperor, since this visit must have recalled bitter memories, and since both were collectively and individually responsible morally for the death of the young Emperor of Mexico.

So far from any such feeling being shown towards them, however, the French sovereigns were received with every display of genuine friendship and pleasure. This was the more remarkable in view of the determination of Francis Joseph to refuse the invitation to Paris, which had been sent to him twice during the previous months of April and May. Francis Joseph had acted upon the advice of his minister, Count von Beust, who at least appears to have considered that his sovereign should manifest some kind of resentment at the betrayal of his brother by the French emperor. The difficult situation of Maximilian had created a decidedly bad impression in Vienna as elsewhere, and Count von Beust, while probably suspecting the reality of his imperial master's grief, decided it unbecoming, for the sake of appearances, that he should go to Paris for the public festivities.

By the following autumn all feeling of indignation and displeasure—if, indeed, any had existed—had disappeared, and the two emperors were apparently the best of friends. The chronicles of the Count von Beust, which were published some years later, contain a full description of the ceremonies and entertainments which followed the visit of the French sovereign, the count observing: 'The Empress Eugénie astonished and delighted every one by the graceful and yet dignified manner in which she held receptions, and it was perhaps not without calculation that she arrived in extremely simple travelling costume, and that throughout the visits she appeared in very unostentatious toilettes, being obviously desirous of yielding the palm of beauty to the Empress Elizabeth. Napoleon, whom I had seen a year before in utter prostration of mind and body, was active and cheerful, and showed no signs of illness.'

But by this time his troublesome dupe and victim Maximilian was no longer in the world to actively reproach him.

There was scarcely a royal house in Europe but was affected, and the good Queen Victoria, who had known and highly esteemed the archduke, having entertained him upon several occasions at Windsor, was deeply moved when the intelligence of the tragedy reached her.

In the United States the impression created was a no less painful one, on account of the comparative youth of the martyred monarch and the dramatic circumstances which had attended his brief imperial glory from the commencement. The United States government had failed to avert the disaster, and public opinion received a severe shock when its details became known; a feeling prevailed that the anti-monarchical policy of the administration had, to some extent, indirectly helped to bring it about.

CHAPTER XXXI

Foreign representatives at the Court of Maximilian—The Prussian Minister, Baron von Magnus—The English Minister, Mr. Scarlett—The Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron von Lago—The United States Minister, Mr. Lewis Campbell and his mission—Dilatory procedure—Correspondence with the State department—Despatch of deputy to President Juarez—Lewis Campbell resigns rather than proceed to Mexico City—Marcus Otterbourg succeeds him—The latter's humanitarian services—A too-zealous official soon superseded.

One of Maximilian's many administrative misfortunes was to have had a very mediocre class of diplomatic representative sent to his court, for not one among the corps accredited to the Imperial government of Mexico displayed the smallest aptitude for dealing with the difficult and complex situation which existed. Their acquaintance with international law was on a par with the general intellectual inferiority of these diplomats. In view of the delicacy of their position—that of accreditation to an already defeated monarchy, holding with the Republican government no recognised influence whatever—their best course would have been to attempt conciliation and friendliness with the dominant authorities who alone could have ameliorated Maximilian's situation and have released him from durance. Instead of following this obviously sensible course of procedure, the representatives of Austria, Italy, and Holland unwisely adopted an attitude both insolent and aggressive towards the Juarist government which aggravated almost while it amused them. The only European diplomatic representatives then in Mexico were: The Marquis de Ribera (Spain); M. Alphonse Dano (France); Baron von Magnus (Prussia); M. Frederick Hooricks

(Belgium); Signor Francisco Curtopassi (Italy); and Mr. C. Middleton (Great Britain). The discreditable conduct of which M. de Saligny, the French representative at the court of Maximilian, had been guilty has been previously referred to—conduct so gross and so incompetent that he had been recalled in disgrace to France, and had never again been entrusted with any important diplomatic mission. To Baron von Lago, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, several references have already been made. He was a coarse-minded, craven-spirited person, totally unfit, one would have said, to hold such a post as that conferred upon him by the Emperor Francis Joseph. In the course of his career he had failed to bring any distinction to himself or honour upon his country, and while, in his capacity as diplomatist, he should have acted for Maximilian as his official agent, he seems to have done nothing to see that the unfortunate prince received the barest justice when a prisoner of war in the hands of his captors.

Baron von Magnus, the Prussian minister (who had succeeded Baron von Wagner), was a well-meaning but absolutely tactless person. Nevertheless the Emperor of Mexico had reposed great confidence in him, and had taken many opportunities to show his regard and appreciation of the minister's loyal services. Maximilian seems to have been ignorant of the fact that Baron von Magnus had acted detrimentally to the imperial interests when he joined his Austrian colleague in advising the foreign legionaries to break faith and leave the country before their full terms of military enlistment had expired. That Maximilian had generously given them permission to depart if they preferred to do so, rendered their act of desertion no less unworthy.

Baron von Magnus undoubtedly used his earnest endeavours to help the emperor during his last days. The self-imposed mission which he undertook to President Juarez—a mission which had rightly belonged to Baron von Lago in his capacity as Austrian Chargé d'Affaires—proved futile, but it was entered upon with a good heart, and upon its failure he evinced considerable emotion and sympathy for the unhappy prince about to be sacrificed. The last two days of Maximilian's captivity were shared by Baron von Magnus, who on the eve (18th June) of the execution addressed the following pathetic appeal to Señor Lerdo de Tejada, the Juarist Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding the greatest influence with the president.

'I implore you in the name of humanity and of Heaven,' he wrote, 'not to make any further attempt against his [the emperor's] life, and I repeat now how certain I am that my sovereign, the King of Prussia, and all the monarchs of Europe who are related to the imprisoned prince, his brother the Emperor of Austria, his cousin the Queen of England, his brother-in-law the King of the Belgians, and his cousin the Queen of Spain, as also the Kings of Italy and Sweden, will readily agree to give all possible guarantee that none of the prisoners shall ever return to Mexican territory.'

One of Maximilian's last acts was to confer upon Baron von Magnus the Commander's Cross of the Order of the Eagle.

Of M. Frederick Hooricks, the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires, it is not possible to write without contempt. Not only was he wholly incompetent to represent his country—the native land be it remembered of the Empress Charlotte—but he was proved to have acted with the greatest treachery towards Maximilian by suppressing, under the pretext that it had been mislaid, the royal permit from Brussels (dated in the month of July 1866) by which the Belgian officers and troops were to remain for several months longer in Mexico in the service of Maximilian. Whether, had they so remained, the fate of the monarchy would have been in any way affected—its ultimate end was indeed already determined—may be doubted; but this in no way relieves M. Hooricks from the stigma of having wilfully and mischievously prevented the intended succour from being enjoyed.

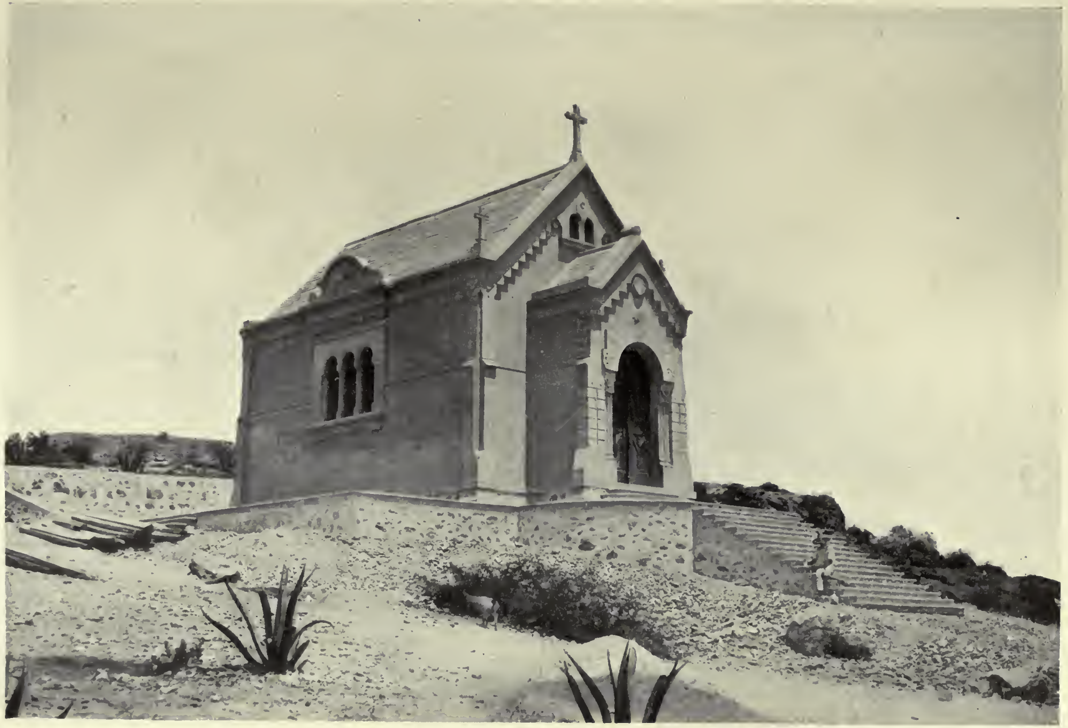
M. Hooricks did not confine himself to obstructing Maximilian and his government. He grossly insulted the emperor in the presence of General Escobedo, the Liberal commander, and his officers, referring to him as a 'fool,' adding, doubtless in order to curry favour with the Juarists, that 'the Liberal government were perfectly within their rights in shooting him.'

Signor Curtopassi, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, while failing to give any evidence of great diplomatic acumen, at least conducted himself sympathetically towards the unfortunate sovereign to whose court he was accredited. He could do but little to delay the tragic issue of the monarchical régime, but he tried to serve the emperor outside his official capacity, and if he failed it was probably because he was ill-provided with the necessary financial resources, which alone would have touched the feelings of the Mexican gaolers.

The English minister, Mr. Scarlett, who, for the most part seems to have been a colourless representative of his great country, had already left Mexico at the time of the monarchical collapse; but, had he been present, doubtless he would have used such influence as he possessed to obtain mercy for Maximilian (see the observations made by the *New York Herald* of 2nd July 1867, reproduced in facsimile elsewhere). Mr. C. Middleton was at this period the British Chargé d'Affaires, but he carried no influence with any one.

The United States representative, Mr. Thomas Corwin, had been accredited to the Republican government, and therefore could have had no official connection with the monarchical administration. He had been replaced by Mr. Lewis D. Campbell, of whose discreditable actions a full account is set forth in official correspondence.

The exertions which were made by the Washington government to save Maximilian from a fate which, to some extent the policy of opposition pursued by the United States had conduced to bring about, although preferred through a mere deputy (Mr. John White), were received by the Juarist government with more respect than were the combined representations of the European Powers. This was not solely the outcome of the Liberals' desire to recognise



MEMORIAL CHURCH ERECTED AT QUERETARO UPON THE SITE WHERE MAXIMILIAN, MIRAMÓN, AND MÉJÌA WERE EXECUTED, JUNE 19, 1867

the attitude of the United States in having declined consistently, and entirely alone, to acknowledge the Mexican monarchy. It arose from a wholesome fear of another American intervention like that of 1846-8, when, as a result of the crossing of the border by General Taylor and the landing of General Scott at Vera Cruz in 1847, the City of Mexico was taken by the victorious Americans and the confiscatory Treaty of Guadaloupe was signed, by the terms of which the entire State of California, 155,652 square miles, and of New Mexico, 122,503 square miles in area, were given up to the United States. That was an experience of 'intervention' which Mexico could not forget, and it was the determination of the Liberal government to do nothing which would again provoke such an act of aggression upon the part of the Northern Colossus.

The United States was represented at Lisbon at this time by a certain Mr. James E. Harvey, who displayed a marked antipathy to the Mexican empire, and took every occasion of apeing his official superiors by making insolent references to the emperor. In a diplomatic despatch bearing date 30th March 1866, Mr. Harvey reported to his government: 'I have the honour to transmit a translation of an address delivered by the so-called Minister of Mexico, representing a person styling himself "Maximilian the First," and claiming to be the ruler of that country, on presenting his letters of credence in that capacity near this court, and the reply of his Most Faithful Majesty to the same, as a part of the current history of the times, and not because either the ceremonial or the occasion has the smallest importance in my estimation. . . . I shall not hesitate to decline all official intercourse with the person in question, as I did with his predecessor who came here from Madrid during the past year to establish diplomatic relations with Portugal.'

Some American writers who have dealt with the subject of the Maximilian régime in Mexico have asserted that the United States authorities used their best efforts to secure consideration and clemency for the unhappy young sovereign when he at length fell into the hands of his enemies, and stood in imminent peril of his life. The claim is only partially justified, for whereas the United States Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) undoubtedly exercised his official powers at the earliest moment to secure deliverance for Maximilian, the diplomatic representative of the United States then accredited to Mexico, Mr. Lewis D. Campbell, proved himself so great a poltroon that all such efforts proved abortive. By the time that the United States government was enabled to make its views and wishes known to President Juarez, Maximilian had already been made to yield up his life. The true significance of the Campbell defection has not been realised, but in the widely-dispersed documentary evidence which still exists, the story of his cowardice and dereliction of duty is found set forth in lurid colours.

The first official representations made by the United States government to the Juarist government upon behalf of Maximilian were undertaken at the request of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, who at last had commenced to realise the danger in which his younger brother stood. Secondly, the Emperor Napoleon, appreciating now the results of his treachery towards Maximilian, and, while in no way attempting to neutralise his act of perfidy, bestirred himself to secure, through the good offices of the American government, some show of mercy to his victim.

On the morning of 10th June 1867, but a few days before the dread sentence of the law was to be carried out, Napoleon sent for General John A. Dix, the United States Minister at Paris, to enlist his services as intermediary with the government at Washington. He begged General Dix to telegraph his earnest wish that the United States government should use its influence upon behalf of Maximilian, laying great stress upon sending by telegraph instead of writing. This was done, but the United States government had not waited for the tardy interest displayed by Napoleon in the matter, having, as early as 6th April, instructed Mr. Campbell to proceed at once to Mexico in order to intercede for the doomed emperor.

Mr. Lewis D. Campbell had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of Mexico, in succession to Mr. Thomas Corwin, on 21st May 1866. From the very first, however, he had shirked the task of proceeding to his post, having, as he afterwards pleaded, 'accepted the position against his will.' On 23rd May he nevertheless expressed his willingness to proceed to his new mission in the following month of July.

Upon one pretext or another, however, he did not arrive anywhere near his post until December, having wasted seven whole months in asking such frivolous questions of Washington as 'the best means of reaching Mexico City,' and 'whether a government boat could be commissioned to take him there.' Upon being told that it '*could* not,' he asked '*why* not ?' His keenest interest seems to have been centred in the matter of his salary, concerning the prompt despatch of which several State documents have been filed away among the national archives.

The copious flow of correspondence commences on 25th May, by Mr. Seward requesting that Mr. Campbell 'would proceed as expeditiously as possible to Mexico City.' Then there comes a pause until 2nd October, when Mr. Seward again urges the reluctant diplomat to hasten, there being 'causes which necessitate your early presence at your post, and you are therefore instructed to proceed at as early an hour as convenient.'

A few weeks later (25th October) Mr. Campbell is furnished with a lengthy official *exposé* of the difficult Mexican position, set out in Mr. Seward's most exhaustive and convincing style ; but in November we still find the newly appointed American minister loitering at home in Hamilton, Ohio. On 3rd November he asks, in a special despatch addressed to Mr. Seward, 'Shall I proceed directly to New York or report myself first to you at Washington ?'

On the 9th he actually gets as far as New York, whence he favours the Secretary of State with a further telegram complaining: 'I find no instructions as to how I am to proceed to Mexico, nor any orders placing any vessel at my disposal.' On the same day, so great is the expedition used by Mr. Seward, a reply is sent to Mr. Campbell, declaring that 'The United States steamer *Susquehanna*, Commodore James Alden, has been ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to take you, General Sherman,[1] and your respective suites, and also Mr. Plumb, to any place in or near Mexico which you may designate. The vessel is ready and at your immediate disposal.'

By the 19th November the party had reached Havana (Cuba), which is still some considerable distance from Mexico; but they finally made Vera Cruz on 2nd December. Here, however, doubtless owing to the prevalence of yellow fever, the cautious Mr. Campbell resolutely declined to land, 'not deeming it proper,' as he mentions in his despatch of 13th December, and so he went on to Tampico, several days further steaming up the coast. Here his mind seems to have been somewhat relieved by the official visits which were paid to him and General Sherman as the United States representatives; but he still fights shy of proceeding inland to Mexico City. He contents himself with sending his credentials and an important official communiqué by hand to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Señor Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada), and thereafter Mr. Campbell makes full steam away from Tampico port, again possibly on account of yellow fever.

After a very hurried journey to the town of Brownsville in United States territory and to the port of Matamoras, on the borders of the two republics, this energetic diplomatic agent directs his steps to the United States once more, for, on January 2, 1867, we find him inditing despatches from New Orleans. From this vantage-ground he sends a message by telegram to the Secretary of State at Washington, asking that he may be permitted to go home: 'I now propose to visit my sick family; is this satisfactory?' he asks.[1] Mr. Seward does not think it is, because he orders the minister 'to await instructions.' On 7th January Mr. Campbell wants to know, by wire, 'how long you will require me to remain here?' The secretary's reply is terse and to the point: 'We wish you to remain at New Orleans while events ripen in Mexico.'[2] By 9th February Mr. Campbell, who has not budged from New Orleans, finds that 'the continued sickness of my daughter and other causes of a private and domestic nature render it very important in my judgment that I should make a short visit to my home, and I will leave here this evening for that purpose.' He leaves accordingly, and we do not find him again at New Orleans—presumably the nearest point he intends to occupy to Mexico City, to which capital he is accredited—until 12th March 1867.

---

[1] Lieutenant-General Sherman was deputed by President Johnson to accompany Mr. Campbell as his adviser. Mr. E. L. Plumb was the newly-appointed Secretary of Legation to the Republic of Mexico.

On 6th April Mr. Campbell receives instructions by telegraph from Washington to communicate to President Juarez, 'promptly and by effectual means,' the desire of the United States government that, 'in the case of capture, the Prince Maximilian and his supporters may receive the humane treatment accorded by civilised nations to prisoners of war.'

This is the first documentary evidence which we have of the efforts of the United States government to protect the Emperor of Mexico, not as yet a prisoner,[3] and it will now be seen how these efforts were supported by their diplomatic representative.

Mr. Campbell's answer to his definite instructions is upon record: 'Presuming,' he telegraphs, 'that the Department expect me to make the communication to President Juarez by special bearer of despatches, I will forthwith adopt measures to send one to Queretaro, *viâ* Tampico, unless otherwise directed.'

---

[1] Despatch to the United States Department of War, 2nd January 1867.

[2] Despatch from Department of State, 8th January 1867.

[3] Maximilian was not betrayed into the hands of his enemies by Lopez until 15th May.

Considering that President Juarez was not, and at no time had been, anywhere near Queretaro, which was now the only town outside of Mexico City still occupied by Maximilian and his supporters, but on the other hand was with his cabinet at San Luis Potósi, at least two hundred miles away, the futility of Mr. Campbell's procedure and his gross ignorance of the topography of Mexico are very apparent. Moreover, up till this time he had not personally presented to the President of Mexico his letters of credence as Envoy of the United States, thereby possessing no recognised *locus standi.*

Instead of himself proceeding to Mexico City, to which post he had now been accredited for over eleven months as Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Campbell had despatched a message by the hands of a Mr. John White, who travelled on the United States government steamer *Blackbird*, proceeding *viâ* Galveston, thence to Tampico, and overland to San Luis Potósi.

Mr. White seems to have arrived at San Luis Potósi on 21st April, to have remained there two days, and to have started on the return journey to New Orleans on the 25th. Naturally his mission bore no fruit, for President Juarez recognised in this deputy from a minister who was too negligent even to trouble about presenting his credentials, a person of no official importance.

Nevertheless the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Señor Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada) acknowledged the despatch, but informed 'His Excellency the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America' (which he would probably not have done had Mr. Campbell delivered the request *in propria persona*) that 'the Mexican government would not consider Maximilian and other persons captured as simple prisoners of war, as responsibilities are defined by the right of nations and by the laws of the Republic.'

Mr. Campbell's consummate unenlightenment of what had occurred and was occurring in Mexico, and his consequent uselessness as a diplomatic representative, are revealed in his further despatch, as always from New Orleans, of 28th May, addressed to the Secretary at Washington, in which he mentions that 'there are various conflicting reports here as to the disposition the government of Juarez had ordered to be made of Maximilian and his leading chiefs,' adding the comment, 'These are too vague and uncertain to be relied upon, and therefore I consider it useless to repeat them.'

The day following he sends another despatch, only to inform the Secretary of State, anxiously awaiting reliable and definite news, that 'the report that Maximilian is to be executed needs confirmation.' Even on 31st May he knows nothing of that which an active and intelligent representative of a great country like the United States should have been the first to learn, for he casually informs Mr. Seward that 'Matamoras and Brownsville papers report that Maximilian and his generals were shot on the16th.' As a fact they were not executed for over a full month afterwards (19th June). But this was near enough for Mr. Campbell.

By the commencement of June Mr. Seward was becoming extremely concerned about Maximilian's probable fate, and he sent a further urgent despatch to the phlegmatic Mr. Campbell, instructing him to 'proceed with as much despatch as possible to the residence of the President of Mexico, and enter upon your mission. Earnestly urge clemency to Maximilian and other prisoners of war if necessary.'

How did Mr. Campbell construe 'with as much despatch as possible'? He wasted a whole day by sending a perfectly purposeless reply to Mr. Seward—after receiving the definite and pressing instructions above cited—to the effect, 'Presuming that President Juarez is now, or very soon will be, in the City of Mexico,[1] I propose to go there *viâ*

---

[1] Mr. Campbell could easily have ascertained, had he inquired, that Mexico City was at this time held by General Marquez, the Imperialist leader against the Liberals, and that Juarez could not himself have been there or anywhere in the neighbourhood.

Vera Cruz, unless you instruct otherwise. Cannot the revenue cutter *Wilderness* be directed to convey me to Vera Cruz ?' Mr. Seward, in order to humour his 'pet diplomat,' did his best to obtain the government boat for the use of Mr. Campbell, but he failed. The Navy Department had no vessel to spare. Mr. Campbell was so informed, upon which he wasted yet further precious time by inquiring by telegram of the Secretary of State, 'Shall I go to the City of Mexico *viâ* Vera Cruz or to San Luis Potósi *viâ* Monterey ? On this point I desire the Department's instructions.' The indirect reply came on the following day from the Department : 'Consult Romero[1] about best route for Campbell to take, and instruct Campbell accordingly.'

Full instructions as to Mr. Campbell's proposed journey were accordingly forwarded by Señor Romero ; but on 10th June we find Mr. Campbell complaining that the 'quarantine regulations forbid communication with Havana and Vera Cruz. I am also informed that transportation by English and French steamers from Havana is uncertain. Besides, I dislike going to Mexico under the English or French flag unless you peremptorily instruct me to do so.'[2]

The 'peremptory instructions' were not long in arriving. The Secretary of State answered on the following day as follows : 'Your despatch received. The President desires you to proceed to Mexico without delay according to previous instructions.'

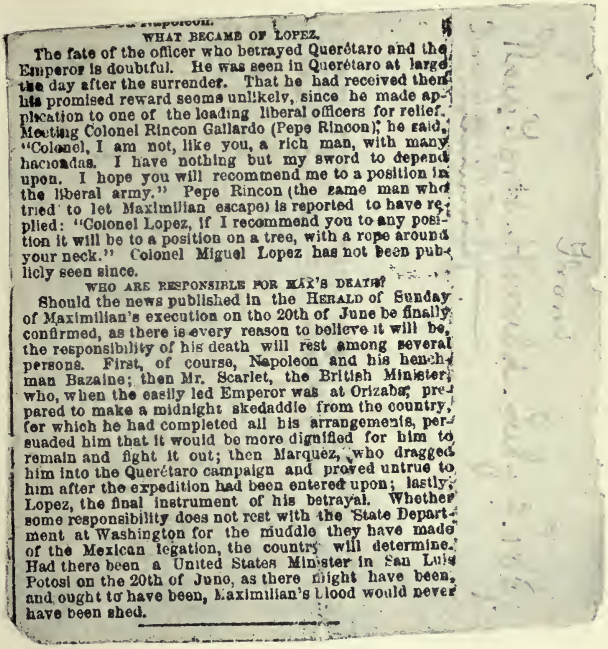
Be it noted that this message was dated '11th June,' and Maximilian was definitely condemned to die on 19th June. There remained therefore now but eight days in which to effect the purpose of the United States government, if it could be effected at all.

The wretched loiterer, however, had not budged from

---

[1] Señor Matias Romero was the Minister for Mexico accredited by the Liberal Government to Washington.

[2] Despatch from Mr. Campbell to the Department of State, 10th June 1867.



WHAT BECAME OF LOPEZ.

The fate of the officer who betrayed Querétaro and the Emperor is doubtful. He was seen in Querétaro at large the day after the surrender. That he had received then his promised reward seems unlikely, since he made application to one of the leading liberal officers for relief. Meeting Colonel Rincon Gallardo (Pepe Rincon), he said, "Colonel, I am not, like you, a rich man, with many haciendas. I have nothing but my sword to depend upon. I hope you will recommend me to a position in the liberal army." Pepe Rincon (the same man who tried to let Maximilian escape) is reported to have replied: "Colonel Lopez, if I recommend you to any position it will be to a position on a tree, with a rope around your neck." Colonel Miguel Lopez has not been publicly seen since.

WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAX'S DEATH?

Should the news published in the HERALD of Sunday of Maximilian's execution on the 20th of June be finally confirmed, as there is every reason to believe it will be, the responsibility of his death will rest among several persons. First, of course, Napoleon and his henchman Bazaine; then Mr. Scarlet, the British Minister, who, when the easily led Emperor was at Orizaba, prepared to make a midnight skedaddle from the country, for which he had completed all his arrangements, persuaded him that it would be more dignified for him to remain and fight it out; then Marquez, who dragged him into the Querétaro campaign and proved untrue to him after the expedition had been entered upon; lastly, Lopez, the final instrument of his betrayal. Whether some responsibility does not rest with the State Department at Washington for the muddle they have made of the Mexican legation, the country will determine. Had there been a United States Minister in San Luis Potosi on the 20th of June, as there might have been, and ought to have been, Maximilian's blood would never have been shed.

ORIGINAL EXTRACT FROM THE
NEW YORK HERALD OF JULY 2, 1867

New Orleans. While the President and Secretary at Washington were under the impression that their representative was now hurrying with all the speed possible upon their errand of mercy, he was, as a fact, malingering at his comfortable New Orleans hotel. On the 15th of June he sent the following message to Mr. Seward: 'Since the receipt of your despatch I have been confined to my room by a severe bilious attack. My physician says I cannot go now without hazarding my life, especially *viâ* Havana and Vera Cruz, where yellow fever prevails. If government considers it important to send minister immediately, I will tender my resignation if desired.'

The answer to this contemptible message was a confirmation of the government's decision,[1] and the final despatch transmitted by Mr. Campbell is dated 15th June, four days before Maximilian was to die. 'Your telegram this day received. I send formal resignation by mail and start for Ohio Thursday.'

The sordid nature of the man Campbell and his utter selfishness, is revealed clearly in the concluding words of this same despatch: 'The draft for Messenger White, of which two hundred dollars is [*sic*] due to me has not been received.'

Thus, while the life of a brave and distinguished man, in whom the whole world took a sentimental interest, was hanging in the balance and which might have been spared, this miserable poltroon is mainly concerned about the safety of his 'two hundred dollars.' History hardly affords a parallel to such conduct upon the part of the accredited representative of a Christian Power.

The sequel soon followed. Two days before the victim of his arrant cowardice and sullen indifference was led out to suffer the extreme penalty at Queretaro, Mr. Lewis D. Campbell, suddenly relieved of his 'bilious attack,' and in defiance of his physician's caution that he could not travel 'without hazarding his life,' departed from New Orleans, and on the 21st, when no human being could any longer affect the fate of the unfortunate Maximilian, Mr. Campbell was succeeded in his diplomatic post by Mr. Marcus Otterbourg, who, already residing in Mexico City, was enabled to take over charge of his mission almost at once.

---

[1] Message from Mr. Seward to Mr. Campbell:

'15th June 1867.

'LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, New Orleans.

'It is important the Minister to Mexico should proceed at once. Your resignation therefore will be accepted, with thanks for your services, and regret for your retirement. Communicate by telegraph.

'WILLIAM H. SEWARD.'

Mr. Marcus Otterbourg had been United States consul for several years before he was given the position of Minister Plenipotentiary, and had proved himself a thoroughly competent and zealous representative. His official despatches, numerous enough to have filled several volumes of 'Diplomatic Correspondence,' were masterpieces of composition, lucidly setting forth in detail the political as well as the economic situation of Mexico for the information of the United States government in Washington. It was due to his efforts that so much clemency was subsequently shown by the Juarist government to its other foreign prisoners; and so great was Mr. Otterbourg's influence with the Mexican authorities that it is not improbable, had he been employed instead of the incompetent Lewis D. Campbell to present the government's representations respecting the pardon of Maximilian, that the request would have been granted. Mr. Otterbourg did not, however, have an opportunity of presenting his credentials as temporary minister to President Juarez until 19th August 1867, and he was replaced by Mr. Edward Lee Plumb, Chargé d'Affaires, on 7th October following.

It is difficult to understand how a person of Mr. Lewis D. Campbell's calibre could ever have been appointed to so important a post as that of United States Minister to Mexico. A more unworthy and pusillanimous individual could not have been selected, and doubtless but for the special protection which he enjoyed at the hands of his patron, Mr. Seward, he would have been impeached, as he thoroughly deserved, for his flagrant disobedience—

borne of physical cowardice—of reiterated instructions, and for his deliberate avoidance of fulfilling his humane mission.

It is highly probable that had Mr. Campbell carried out Mr. Seward's first orders sent to him on 6th April, and had he seen President Juarez personally, the latter would have seriously considered the question of sparing Maximilian's life. The government of the United States was at this time the one and only foreign power which exercised any influence, and of which the Liberals entertained the slightest fear. The whole of the *corps diplomatique* of Europe combined weighed less in the opinion of President Juarez and his minister Señor S. Lerdo de Tejada than Mr. Seward at Washington. Had the latter possessed a more worthy representative than Lewis D. Campbell, that influence would have made itself felt, and in all likelihood the merciful object in view would have been achieved.

It has to be remembered that whereas Mr. Campbell was appointed minister to Mexico in May of 1866, he did not take up his duties until December, while he resigned in the following June of 1867. During the whole thirteen months he had journeyed but once to the Republic of Mexico, and had never visited the capital at all. He had not met, nor had he troubled to meet, a single member of the Mexican administration; his letters of credence had remained in his portfolio until delivered by a deputy, and beyond a number of crudely-composed and badly translated despatches addressed to the Foreign Minister, the Mexican government had no official cognisance of his existence.

Mr. Lewis D. Campbell should never have been in the diplomatic service of any country — especially that of the United States. It is doubtful whether any other government would have employed such an officer; so far as his Mexican appointment was in question he merely brought discredit upon the government which he represented, and death upon the foreign prince whose life he had been especially commissioned to protect. The United States at this time, many years before its diplomatic and consular corps had been remodelled and the class of men from which its foreign ministers were selected had very greatly improved, was but indifferently served generally by its representatives abroad. But Mr. Lewis D. Campbell stands out conspicuously as the worst specimen of whom there is any record.

Undeniable evidence exists of the great moral influence which the United States government wielded with the Mexican Administration at this period. In the great majority of cases where the services of the American authorities had been invoked, they were both generously and promptly granted. Thus, after the execution of Maximilian, when there still remained in the Republic a large number of foreigners, both prisoners of war and political suspects, the United States Minister, Mr. Marcus Otterbourg, was occupied almost entirely in conducting negotiations with the Mexican government either for the release or the betterment in treatment of the many captives in their hands. It must be again stated that the representative of the government of the United States was the only one recognised by President Juarez; all of the other diplomatic representatives were *personæ non grata,* without any official position whatever. They had been accredited to the court of Maximilian, and that had disappeared; naturally, then, they desired to return to their own countries as soon as possible, and herein lay a difficulty. They could not leave without the permission of the Republican government, and this it was unwilling to grant. The good offices of Mr. Marcus Otterbourg were, however, called in, and he seems to have behaved in a friendly and tactful manner throughout, so much so that the Juarez government found it difficult to refuse his requests.

In one case only was he unsuccessful, namely that of an Irish American general, who had been condemned to death on account of his Imperialistic services. Mr. Otterbourg, at the request of his government, made a brave effort to save the unfortunate general, who, upon a notable occasion, had gallantly rescued the American flag from insult; but he was unsuccessful, and the general paid the penalty on the morning of 21st August 1867.

In other instances, as indicated, the United States Minister was pre-eminently fortunate. It was due entirely to his efforts that Prince Felix zu Salm Salm's lot in prison was lightened, and his eventual release arranged; to him was due the release and pardon of General Severo Castillo, who had been sentenced to death at Queretaro; he arranged the release of Eloin, the young Belgian and the great friend of Charlotte; he took over the care of the Prussian subjects of the North German Confederation living in Mexico when the Prussian Minister, Baron von Magnus, was called away; and he rendered the same valuable services to the subjects of the King of Italy residant in Mexico when their minister, Signor Francisco Curtopassi, was obliged to leave that Republic.

On the other hand, it was the Secretary to the United States Legation, Mr. Edward Lee Plumb, who not only obtained clemency from the Mexican government for General Santa Anna, when eventually he fell into their hands, but pleaded for the return to the Austrian emperor of the embalmed body of his brother, the late Maximilian, which Admiral Tegethoff had been despatched to bring home. All of these services, so agreeably and so spontaneously rendered at a most critical and anxious time, should be remembered to the credit of the United States government.

But the good offices mentioned were not confined to one side only; to the Liberals Mr. Otterbourg had likewise shown great friendliness, such as his act in raising a loan of $200,000 in the month of June 1867, and of which General Porfirio Diaz, then at Mexico City, was in great need. This loan was procured without interest for the needs of the national army. In acknowledging the obligation General Porfirio Diaz wrote, under date 25th June: 'Profoundly grateful to you and to the persons who have so generously contributed to this success, I return you all the warmest thanks, while there remains to me alone to request of you, that, together with the same persons, you will do me the favour to point out the internal revenue or custom-house dues which you may desire to be devoted to the early reimbursement of this amount, in order that it may be set aside with that object with the strictest and most religious punctuality.'

It was during the seventy days' rigorous blockade of the City of Mexico by the Liberals under the command of Porfirio Diaz, that Mr. Marcus Otterbourg proved how wise had been the choice of the United States government in selecting him as their representative. He carried out his extremely difficult task during the whole of the perilous crisis without once compromising the neutrality or dignity of the country which he represented. His despatch, dated 21st June 1867, to the Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, is a well-expressed and impartial account of the memorable events described.

CHAPTER XXXII

United States policy—William Henry Seward—Reply to the Allied Powers—The Monroe Doctrine—Its origin and claims—North American pretensions—Influence upon foreign nations—Canning's views—Outraging the morals of the Doctrine—Harsh treatment of Mexico in 1846—President Lincoln's attitude—Mr Dayton and Napoleon's government—Explaining that the Doctrine means nothing in particular—Depreciating the resolution of the House of Representatives—Seward's instructions to United States Minister at Paris—Treatment of Maximilian.

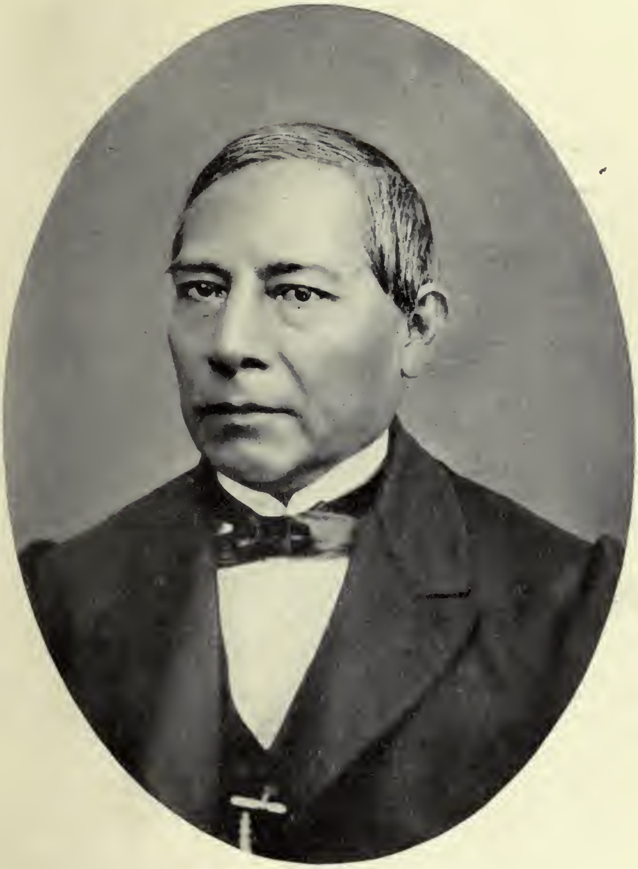
During the whole term of the Maximilian régime the policy of the United States had been dictated by one man, and that man was William Henry Seward, a lawyer by profession, and a singularly broad-minded and able politician through natural aptitude. He had had considerable experience of debate as a senator, having sat for ten years as a Republican. He entertained ambitions of occupying the presidential chair, and became a candidate, but, failing to find support from either party, he was forced to content himself with the office of Secretary of State under Abraham Lincoln, and this onerous position he occupied for eight years, serving, after the death of Lincoln, in 1865, under his successor Andrew Johnson. Seward almost shared the fate of Lincoln, for an associate of Booth made a determined attempt to kill him, but fortunately failed. Undoubtedly Seward was a strong and an honest man, and notwithstanding the difficulties of his position, occasioned by the War of Secession, the French intervention in Mexico, and numerous other complications in foreign affairs, he conducted his office on the whole with great ability and distinction.

The policy adopted by the United States in regard to the French intervention in Mexico was at first of an uncertain and hesitating nature, although the keynote was struck when Mr. Seward, answering the suggestion of the Allied Powers that the United States should join them, laid down the axiom that 'it is of the highest importance to the United States that the sovereigns agreeing to the Convention of London do not seek for any territorial aggrandisement, and do not intend to exert any influence to hinder the right of the Mexican people to the free choice and establishment of their own form of government.' The serious troubles at home, and the reiterated 'pacific intentions' expressed by the Emperor Napoleon, inspired caution regarding even the semblance of threats against a powerful European country; while loud-mouthed politicians declaimed violently against the encroachment of any European government upon American territory, the Executive took great care not to commit itself to any definite line of action. The Monroe Doctrine, however, was dug up from obscurity, and waved undeterminedly before the eyes of the eastern world.

The Monroe Doctrine was brought into existence when European monarchies were mostly absolutisms, and the Latin-American States, as yet unformed, were little better than immature communities composed of uncivilised half-breeds. It seemed little less than an anomaly that the principle of the Doctrine, which was laid down as far back as 1823, should now have been cited as a living issue, and so regarded by France among other European Powers.

It would be unfair to deny that the Monroe Doctrine in design once gave promise of becoming a strong factor in the establishment, or may be the enforcement, of peace and order among the turbulent Latin States; the distinguished author (President Monroe) and his sponsors undoubtedly believed it to be founded upon substantial considerations, fully applicable to the conditions prevailing at that stage in the world's progress.

Two important and, indeed, vital developments however transpired which served to taint, if not to destroy, the



BENITO PABLO JUAREZ
President of Mexico during the Maximilian Regime
Born 1806. Died 1872

value and the effect of the Monroe Doctrine. The first of these was the general change which had come about in the status of the smaller independent States, the majority of which, notwithstanding the frequent political uprisings of which they so often became the centre, considered themselves then as now fully capable of proceeding alone, and of managing their internal affairs, unassisted by the advice or co-operation of the United States.

North Americans claim that the Doctrine possesses to all intents and purposes the principles of international law, since it is backed by the whole force of the United States. It is this force, and not the Doctrine, which is the real effective power respected by Europe, since without this efficacy behind it the Monroe Doctrine would never become binding upon any European country which cared to ignore it, no matter how carefully it had been written into law and solemnly accepted. It may even be a question whether the United States would consent to fight for the Doctrine.

Upon the occasions that some among the European Powers have found it necessary to interfere for the protection of their subjects, but scanty consideration of the claims put forward by the Monroe Doctrine has been permitted to influence their actions. As we have seen, the Doctrine came into existence in 1823; and in the early days of its being its claims were advocated with great strenuousness, greater, indeed, even than to-day. Nevertheless, in 1835, England and France had conjointly established a successful naval blockade along the entire coast of Argentina; in 1841, England, acting alone, seized the island of Ruaton, off the Honduranean coast; and in 1862, France, also acting independently, and ignoring United States protests, landed her troops upon Mexican territory and, moreover, kept them there for over five years.

As originally defined by James Monroe and amplified by John Quincy Adams, the implication of the document was that if the United States enforced the exclusion of Europe from the Americas they would, in turn, abstain from having anything to do with Europe's possessions at that time in the Americas, or with the course of events transpiring in Asia and Africa. But the foreign policy of the United States has continually run counter to that implied pledge, and the moral value of continued assertion of opposition to European interference in the Americas has been weakened correspondingly. It is, therefore, the more surprising to observe, when the principle of the Monroe Doctrine was invoked, that it should have been recognised by Napoleon III. and his advisers.

Canning, who strongly disapproved of the French invasion of Spain for the restoration of absolutism, aided Monroe to give his Doctrine some backbone when it was brought into being against the French, and it was in order to render the protest against the invasion of Spain the more effective that it was determined, in 1824, to recognise the independence of the South American colonies. When the United States, at a subsequent date, endeavoured to push the advantages to an unfair limit, Canning did not hesitate to sternly denounce the pretensions of the Doctrine, or refuse to acknowledge them. The British Prime Minister declared that he regarded the declaration against colonisation as 'very extraordinary,' and 'one that England was prepared to combat in the most unequivocal manner.' Bismarck, on the other hand, uncompromisingly denounced the Doctrine as 'a piece of international impertinence'; and the French jurist and statesman, M. Ollivier, while admitting 'its mingled qualities of astuteness and naivete' when originally proclaimed, foresaw the practical abolition of its moral effect upon Europe from the moment that the desire for territorial expansion became the settled policy of the United States.

The high moral platform which has always been adopted by the United States whenever the Monroe Doctrine and its application have been in question, has undoubtedly shrouded the penetration of some critics who have been led to believe that the Doctrine is all that it claims to be. Throughout the voluminous archives which exist relating to this enactment, a mass of testimony is to be found recorded regarding both the spirit and the demonstration of the Doctrine. Successive presidents and secretaries of state have bestowed their blessings upon the pronouncement, excepting, perhaps, Mr. Polk, who practically repudiated it as well as its author; but, after perusing the available testimony, it is difficult to understand how the moral of the Doctrine could so often have been outraged, and its fundamental principles so designedly distorted.

It has been advanced as an axiom upon many occasions by prominent American publicists that the United States cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless they succeed in making it evident, in the first place, that they have no intention of treating it in any shape or manner as an excuse for aggrandisement on their part at the expense of the Republics concerned.

Nevertheless, if a scrutiny be made of the circumstances in any one of the many cases which have occurred during the whole of the century, calling for the interference of the United States, and if the results accruing to the United States on the one hand and to the particular Republic on the other be compared, it will be found that while the latter had gained little or nothing, not even the much-desired permanent peace, the former had triumphantly acquired a substantial profit—represented by large landed appropriations or valuable concessions in some instances, and by heavy monetary payment in others.

Upon the most trifling pretext brought about by an unwarrantable incursion into Mexican territory by United States filibusters, the Northern Republic, in 1848, annexed the whole of Upper California, just at the time when the discovery of gold on the American river was beginning to excite the cupidity of the people. Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico followed, these four provinces together comprising an area of no less than 500,000 square miles, which were then merged into the United States. A revolt created by Americans in Texas had also resulted in the seizure of that valuable territory, comprising a further 375,000 square miles, so that the United States, up to the end of 1850, had acquired from Mexico no less than 875,000 square miles of territory.

The first notable public objection raised by the United States against the action of France in interfering with Mexican affairs was voiced by Mr. Samuel S. Cox, a representative from Ohio, who, as early as 1860, drew attention in the House to what he termed 'the designs of France.' It was he also who described the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as the 'Arch-Dupe' of Louis Napoleon. 'We ought,' said Mr. Cox, 'to be prepared not only to say, but to make it effectual, that no crown shall be established on this continent.' A resolution of the House proposed by Mr. Henry Winter Davis, a representative from Maryland, was passed on 4th April 1864, 'declining to recognise the Government which European Powers contemplate establishing on our southern frontier,' the vote being absolutely unanimous.

In the following month of May an immense budget of correspondence was produced for the information of the House of Representatives covering communications from President Lincoln, Mr. William H. Seward (the Secretary of State), and Mr. William L. Dayton, the United States Minister at Paris.

From this it seemed that the resolution of 4th April had occasioned a considerable flurry at the Tuileries, and an attempt was made by the United States government to throw some oil upon the troubled waters. Mr. Seward—notwithstanding the thundering tones in which Mr. Samuel S. Cox had declaimed, 'believing that to-day the people of this country (U.S.A.) would back up an administration that would give a proper defiance to this French intermeddling'—assured the French government (through the diplomatic channel of Mr. Dayton) that 'it is hardly necessary to say that the proceedings of the House of Representatives were adopted upon suggestions arising within itself, and not upon any communication of the Executive Department,' adding, 'you will inform the Government of France that the President does not at present contemplate any departure from the policy which this government has hitherto pursued in regard to the war which exists between France and Mexico.'

This more peaceful—and, under the circumstances, more reasonable and dignified—attitude did not please Mr. Davis from Maryland, nor Mr. Cox from Ohio ; but the House approved.

Mr. Dayton visited the French Minister for Foreign Affairs on 21st April, in order to reassure him as to the non-bellicose intentions of the United States, and, in other words, to inform him that the Monroe Doctrine was merely a bogey, and was not to be regarded *too* seriously. 'I said to him,' reports the United States Minister in a letter addressed to Mr. Seward, 'that I did not think France had a right to infer that we were about to make war against her on account of anything contained in those resolutions.[1] That they embodied nothing more than had been held out constantly to the French Government from the beginning.'

M. Drouyn de l'Huys was no doubt very much relieved at this information ; he should, however, have remembered Cicero's axiom, '*nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est.*'

As already pointed out, it was the policy of the United States to see 'which way the cat jumped' before defining any particular line of action, a fact which is clear from a letter addressed by the Secretary of State to Mr. Corwin (at Mexico City), bearing date 10th May 1862. Therein Mr. Seward says : 'War, it appears, has been actually begun between France and Mexico. It is possible that it may result in an overthrow of the existing government of the Republic, and the inauguration, or attempt at inauguration, of some new system. It is not to the interest of the United States to be hasty in recognising the revolutionary changes which are unhappily so frequently occurring in Spanish America. It is not always safe to judge that a new government among them, under whatever auspices it may arise, will prove satisfactory to the people and become permanent. At the same time it is neither our right nor our duty to prejudge and condemn any new institution or administration which the fortunes of internal war may call into being. In view of these considerations, the president expects that you will suspend any definite act of recognition in case of a dynastic change in Mexico, and will refer the subject to his own consideration.'

---

[1] Resolutions passed by the House of Representatives *unanimously* on 4th April 1864, but not acted upon by the Senate.

Again, on 8th August 1863, Mr. Seward, in support of his invariably consistent policy towards the establishment of the Mexican empire, writes to Mr. Corwin : 'You will not be expected to address yourself, under present circumstances, to the new provisional government which bears sway at the capital.'

On 27th February 1864 we find Mr. Seward still firmly antagonistic to Maximilian in his imperial capacity, and instructing the United States representative in Paris (Mr. Dayton) how to behave should he meet the emperor-elect during his official visits : 'If the archduke appears in Paris,' writes the Secretary of State, 'only in his character as an imperial prince of the House of Hapsburg, you will be expected to be neither demonstrative nor reserved in your deportment towards him. If he appears there with any assumption of political authority or title in Mexico, you will entirely refrain from intercourse with him.'

The extreme circumspection of these instructions compared well with the more provocative expressions of a section of the American congressional representatives, and a portion of the press.

CHAPTER XXXIII

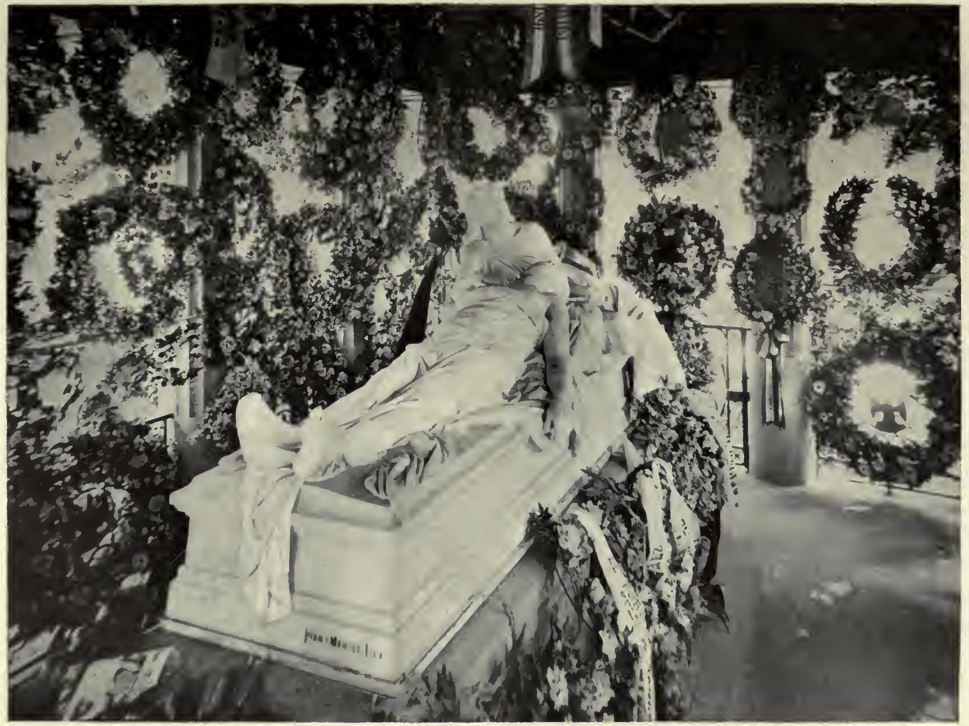
Friendliness of the United States to Liberal Government—Mutual favours—The case of General Ortega—Delivery into the hands of his enemies—Overtures by Maximilian rejected—Immigration project ignored—Mr. W. H. Seward's opposition to the Empire of Maximilian—The Emperor's special envoy refused an audience—Irritation in France—Lincoln's Presidential Message—President Johnson and Mexican affairs—Seward defines the United States position—The Secretary of State and Mexican prisoners in France—Distrust of Napoleon—Mr. Dayton's successor at Paris—Congress becomes bolder—Napoleon withdraws from Mexico.

THE friendliness of the United States towards the Juarists in the early days of the French intervention proved not unprofitable—as it was always understood would be the case. When the Secretary of State had asked permission of President Juarez, in August of 1861, to march United States troops through Mexican territory (the State of Sonora) to their possession in Arizona, the response—to quote the eloquent and appreciative words employed by Mr. F. W. Seward, Acting-Secretary of State—'was magnanimous.' 'We are,' he added, 'profoundly sensible that such a policy could be adopted only under the most exalted confidence in the integrity and good faith of this government, which will endeavour by every means so to exercise the privilege conceded, that neither the authorities nor the people of Mexico will have cause to regret the marked courtesy they have extended to a friendly power.'

Here was appreciation indeed, and it is but small wonder that Juarez kept so valuable a testimonial, and indirectly 'a promise to pay,' prominently before the notice of the United States Administration in the strenuous times which followed. Notwithstanding that the United States felt 'profoundly sensible' of the courteous favour accorded by Mexico in August of 1861, when, in September of 1864, General Cortinas, commanding the Mexican forces, landed his troops temporarily upon United States territory, he was presented with a letter from the United States Colonel M. Day, commanding the forces at Brazos Santiago, demanding that 'your arms, ammunition, and warlike stores must be at once surrendered to the United States forces.' If ever General Cortinas had heard of the English poet Wordsworth he might well have recalled his lament, 'Alas! the gratitude of men hath often left me mourning.'

All the same, throughout the correspondence which was conducted between the Secretary of State and the Liberal government's accredited representative at Washington, Señor Matias Romero, the utmost friendly sentiments were indulged in, not a point being lost which could be made to serve against the Maximilian régime and its French supporters, in spite of the 'neutrality' which Mr. Seward so dearly loved to proclaim.

Another flagrant instance of American partisanship was afforded by the arrest of General Ortega. Benito Juarez's term of office having expired by the effluxion of time, and it being impossible to hold new elections owing to the chaotic conditions of the country, General Ortega maintained that Juarez had no constitutional right to remain in office. He therefore called upon him to retire, and upon the latter's refusal, Ortega rose against him and proclaimed himself candidate for the vacant presidency. He found but little support, however, and fled for safety to the United States, where hundreds of other Mexican politicians—including Juarez himself—had sought, and had been accorded, a refuge upon previous occasions. With or without the consent of the Washington executive, however, General Ortega was arrested by General Sherman's orders, and handed over to the revenge of the Liberal party, the unfortunate officer falling immediately into the hands of his arch-enemy Escobedo. It is difficult to understand or to condone this act of oppression upon the part of



TOMB OF PRESIDENT BENITO PABLO JUAREZ

Sherman, which was contrary to all usages of nations not actually at war with one another.

Jesus G. Ortega considered himself justified in opposing the presidency of Benito Juarez upon the following grounds. The political constitution of the Republic of Mexico stipulates clearly and unmistakably that, at the end of a presidential term, there shall be a public election of his successor. When his full period had expired, instead of calling a general election, Benito Juarez, declaring that the country was in so confused a condition that no election could be properly held, issued a decree, on 8th November 1865, expressing his determination to remain in office as Dictator. The proper course to have pursued, in accordance with the terms of the Constitution, would have been to have called upon the President of the Supreme Court to assume the executive temporarily. The President of the Supreme Court was then Señor Jesus G. Ortega, and he claimed to be the constitutional president. On the other hand the followers of Juarez, who naturally wished to see him continued in the presidency, since his tenure meant their own retention in the remunerative offices which they filled, contended that, while it was true that in the year 1862 Señor Jesus G. Ortega was President of the Supreme Court, he was later on made Chief of the Eastern Division of the Army, and as a consequence had been replaced in the judicial office by a lawyer named Ruiz. This fact Ortega always denied. At least he seems to have honestly believed in his rights to act as president; he could at no time have been considered a 'rebel,' and it was a disgraceful act on the part of General Sherman of the United States army to have delivered him a prisoner into the hands of the Liberals.

Maximilian was always anxious to conciliate the United States government, recognising from the first the importance of the countenance or of the disfavour of this powerful neighbour. He suggested a scheme of immigration particularly favourable to the North Americans, and a press propaganda was launched with the idea of furthering this project. Land was to be offered to immigrants free of charge upon the following plan: fifty square leagues were to be allotted for settlement, while the immediately-adjoining fifty were to be held as government reserve. The third contiguous block of fifty leagues was, again, to be offered to American settlers, while the fourth was to be claimed by the Mexican government, and so on—the immigrants and the Mexicans thus becoming neighbours with common interests and dependent upon mutual support and protection.

The foreigners were to be privileged to appoint their own magistrates, rural guards, police, etc. etc., the chief magistate of each section or settlement being held responsible for the maintenance of law and order within his borders.

These suggestions were considered by the United States government, and sternly pronounced against; they were never put into execution, mainly on account of Marshal Bazaine's equally emphatic disapproval. Had the scheme been proceeded with, however, there can be no doubt that the Imperial cause would have materially benefited, both directly and indirectly. A large foreign population would have been attracted and proved of great service to the empire at this juncture, while many American filibusters, who willingly lent their co-operation against the Maximilian cause, would just as cheerfully have fought for and have helped to maintain it. Thus an opportunity of exceptional value was lost, and it never recurred.

Mr. Seward's dislike of and antipathy towards Maximilian received further incitement at the end of 1865, when he became aware of the horrible 'Black Decree,' which had been issued in the previous month of October. The young sovereign was no longer referred to as the Archduke Maximilian or the 'Emperor of Mexico,' but to the 'so-called emperor of Mexico,' and in a letter, dated 14th March 1866, addressed to Señor Matias Romero, the Secretary of State, observed: 'It is scarcely necessary for me to assure you that the government of the United States deeply regrets the untimely fate which has overtaken these brave champions [1] of the cause of liberty and republican institutions in Mexico, and fully deprecates the practice of a system of warfare so little in consonance with the usages of enlightened States.'

Such sentiments must have been entirely in accordance with the views of most, if not all, impartial observers of the terrible war proceeding in the neighbouring State; but it is not upon record that Mr. Seward, or any other member of the Administration, expressed any commiseration for the numerous victims of the Liberal General Zaragoza, the murderer of General Roblès, nor for those of General Porfirio Diaz; both of these generals showed themselves in every way as vindictive and as cruel to their captured countrymen as had the author of the 'Black Decree.'

In March of 1865, Maximilian had despatched a special envoy to Washington, in the person of Señor José Ramirez, his Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs, in order to propitiate the United States government; but Mr. Seward would have none of him, replying to a request for an interview that 'it is a fixed habit of this government to hold no official intercourse with agents of parties which stand in an attitude of revolution antagonistic to the sovereign authority in the same country with which the United States of America are on friendly diplomatic intercourse.'

At one time the Confederates seriously entertained the idea of joining Maximilian, and the notion was always popular among the more irreconcilable spirits. Bazaine was opposed to the project for fear that, if carried out, it would precipitate a war with the United States, which France at this juncture had no desire to provoke. Bazaine, indeed, even conceived the possibility of treaty with the Federals to the effect that, if these would recognise the Maximilian régime, the French would seize and disarm all the Confederates—including their president, Jefferson Davis—if they should cross the Mexican frontier. The proposition, however, came at a moment when the internecine struggle in North America was almost over, the Confederates being exhausted, so that the United States government had no interest in making any kind of arrangement with the Mexican Imperialists.

---

[1] Generals Arteaga and Salazar, who were executed under the Decree.

The United States government was kept fully informed, by its alert and highly intelligent representative in Mexico City, Mr. Thomas Corwin, as to the trend of Mexican affairs, as well as by its Paris representative, Mr. William L. Dayton. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in charge of the United States Legation in London, likewise proved a remarkably observant critic of the conditions prevailing, and he kept Mr. Seward *au fait* with every action taken by Lord Russell, and with every expression of opinion appearing in the public press.

For instance, on 24th March 1864, we find Mr. Adams in London instructing Mr. Seward in Washington as follows:

'The Archduke Maximilian came here for the purpose of getting a recognition of his new position. His father-in-law, Leopold, is here to favour its object. The government declined to act on the subject at present, but gave reason to hope that, so soon as the action in Mexico would appear to justify it, they would acknowledge him. It is understood that Spain and Belgium will follow in the wake of France, after which the other Powers are expected to accede.' Mr. Adams thereafter goes on to talk about the proposed English loan, and to comment upon the disappointment of the English creditors on finding no provision made for the redemption of their holdings.

Every feature of the situation was carefully and, it may be added, impartially set forth by these three extremely active diplomats, so that Washington could judge accurately as to the actual and probable situation.

While Mr. Corwin supplied the United States Administration with a full account of such important subjects as the disputed points between the Allies (Great Britain, Spain, and France) and Mexico, the position of military affairs, the proposed French loan for Mexico, the prospects of the French intervention, and even such matters as the opinion in Mexico relative to the civil war in the United States, Mr. Dayton, no less zealous and well-informed, provided a mirror of passing events in the French capital—the views of the emperor, the relations of the United States representatives with both countries, the progress of the war as reported from day to day in the French journals, the hopes and fears of the cabinet at the Tuileries, and a hundred other subjects of moment to the Washington Administration.

The obstructive attitude adopted by the United States towards the intervention, however, occasioned considerable irritation in France, and caused many heated arguments in the Chamber of Deputies. Notwithstanding the pacific assurances indulged in by the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris and the Secretary of State at Washington, the situation became at times extremely strained. When Napoleon had finally decided to withdraw the whole of the French troops at the request of the United States, an outburst of indignation was met with from some of the most prominent politicians in France, who saw in this act not alone a complete admission of costly failure but a humiliating truckling to the jealousy of a distant and interested Power. The most bitter critic throughout had been M. Jules Favre, the distinguished advocate, while Baron Jerome David, a wealthy and influential deputy, delivered an impassioned speech before the meeting of the Corps Législatif (on Wednesday, 13th June 1866), in which he asked :

‘By what right and for what purpose do the United States interfere in the affairs of Mexico ? The population of Mexico is composed of Creoles, half-breeds and Indians. There is no kind of analogy or relation between the Mexican (Spanish-American) race and the Anglo-American. Manners, temperament, language, religious faith—all differ : all are in opposition and contrast. The question of race, therefore, does not apply. There is talk of the Monroe Doctrine. Since when has a ‘doctrine,’ enunciated in a message addressed to the nation, taken the force of law for foreign nations ? We could understand that the United States should be moved by an aggressive neighbour, or one threatening the internal institutions of the Union ; but because one nation is ruled by the republican form it cannot be pretended that monarchical institutions should be excluded from the New World . . . there can be no danger to the United States from the Mexican monarchy.'

The complicated Mexican affairs likewise formed frequent subjects for debate in the two Houses at the American capital, but notwithstanding the impatience of many of the senators and representatives, and the fiery declamations which some of them indulged in, the conduct of the Americans on the whole was at this time dignified and discreet.

In his annual message to Congress, dated 6th December 1864, President Lincoln made but a very brief and colourless reference to the affairs of Mexico, although the emperor had landed and taken possession of his new kingdom in the Americas some six months previously. All that Lincoln found it expedient to observe was confined to four lines at the commencement of the 'Message' as follows :—

'Mexico continues to be a theatre of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have, at the same time, strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents.'

This was not altogether an accurate representation of affairs, although no doubt the conscientious president may have believed it to be so ; the Secretary of State could have shown him a goodly pile of correspondence received from the Mexican imyerialists, both upon the frontier and in the capital, protesting earnestly against the favouritism which was being openly shown to the Liberals in the way of facilities granted for raising of money and arms, and securing them safety at any time from pursuit by merely crossing the American frontier, and again leaving it when it suited their convenience.

In the following year, when the worthy Lincoln had been some months in his grave, and Andrew Johnson the ex-tailor's apprentice was ruling in his place, no direct mention was made in the Presidential Message of Mexican affairs.

After congratulating himself and the American people upon the friendly relations entertained 'between the United States and the Emperor of China,' with somewhat less redundancy upon the amicable connections 'with the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Brazil,' and with a sneer at England (occasioned, no doubt, by our having recognised the Confederate insurgents as belligerents in the United States), the president referred very furtively to Mexico and France. All that he deemed it diplomatic to observe was contained in the one sentence: 'He would regard as a calamity for the peace of the world the fact that any European power should throw the glove to the American people as if for the defence of republicanism against foreign intervention'—a pronouncement which assuredly signified nothing at all. This Message, however, had proved a lengthy one.

But Andrew Johnson would appear to have devoted a great deal of attention, during the four years of his presidency, mainly to quarrelling with the Senate, and to have had little time for directing the Republic's foreign policy. He was about the only American president ever called upon to answer a charge of 'high crimes and misdemeanours,' and although he escaped conviction by the skin of his teeth (35 out of 54 of the Senate finding him 'guilty,' which number was insufficient by one to complete the necessary two-thirds majority) he lost all influence with his countrymen, and was in no position to direct a different kind of policy, had he even contemplated it, with regard to Mexican affairs.

The position of the United States, as defined by Mr. Secretary Seward,[1] was this: France had a right to make war against Mexico, and to determine for herself the cause. The United States had a right and interest to insist that France should not improve the war she made to raise up in Mexico an anti-Republican or anti-American government, or to maintain a government there. The United States government did not desire to suppress the fact that their sympathies were with Mexico—that is to say with the Republican portion of the people—and their wishes were for the restoration of peace within her borders: neither did the United States government in any sense, for any purpose, disapprove of the Republican government then in force in Mexico, or distrust the administration. Neither was there any disposition apparently to deny the Liberals of Mexico financial assistance (notwithstanding the 'neutrality' so often cited). Indeed, President Lincoln submitted to the Senate a treaty granting a loan to Mexico of $11,000,000 (say £2,200,000) although he made no recommendation upon the subject.

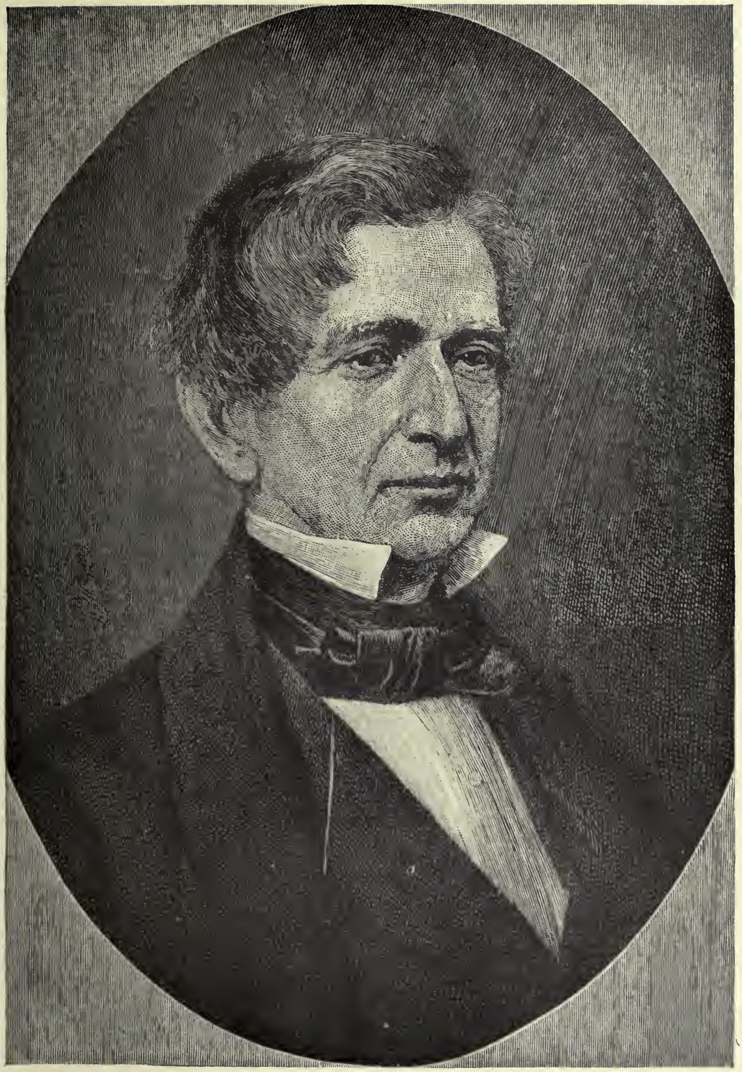
---

[1] Letter from William H. Seward to William L. Dayton, 21st June 1862.

As a fact the Mexican government, relying upon the specific promise of certain unauthorised individuals, had negotiated drafts upon the United States government based upon the treaties which the United States representative at Mexico City (Mr. Corwin) had arranged, but which his government never ratified. When the drafts were presented they were protested, 'because they had been unauthorised by the United States government, and were made without its knowledge.'

There were other reasons why the United States government wished to remain content with citing the Monroe Doctrine, and not putting its threatening clauses into operation against France. The Americans had received much sympathy from France during and after the revolutionary war, mainly on account of the favourable opportunity afforded for annoying England, while the service of the Duc de Chartres and the Comte de Paris in the army of the United States had kindled a very friendly feeling between the two peoples. No less favourable had proved the impression regarding the generous course adopted towards the Americans by Prince Jerome Napoleon, who was always *persona grata* to the citizens of the Northern Republic.

The American Secretary of State was at least consistent in his sympathies regarding the French intervention, and at no time did anything, or permitted anything to be done, which could possibly assist Maximilian in his efforts to



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD
United States Secretary of State during the
Maximilian Régime in Mexico

establish his monarchy upon a firm and permanent basis. One reason for Mr. Seward's antagonism was his belief that, during his visit to Paris, Maximilian had suggested to Napoleon III. the advisability of his acknowledging the Confederates in their secession from the Union. As a fact, Maximilian never made any such suggestion, and the *canard* was entirely the product of certain malicious English newspapers. Mr. Dayton, moreover, maintained so close a watch upon the movements of Maximilian that, while in Paris, nothing that he did or said, or perhaps thought, was left unrecorded by this zealous diplomatic sleuth-hound for the edification of his government.

He was, later on, found most sympathetic in his expressions to a number of Mexican officers of the Liberal persuasion who had been captured by the French troops and transported as prisoners of war to Tours, in the Department of Indre-et-Loire. They had appealed to the United States—whose government had earned their 'profoundest admiration,' and 'whose people had inspired them with the loftiest conception of their virtues'—to intervene in their favour, and Mr. Dayton, as representative of the government of the United States at Paris, thanked them 'for their kind sentiments and encouraging sympathies,' and assured them that 'it would give him much pleasure to forward their communication to the government at Washington.' But the result failed to secure one single day's reduction in the prisoners' confinement, or the smallest mitigation in their unhappy lot.

The same courteous, but wholly ineffective, results attended the numerous protests addressed from time to time to the United States government by Señor M. Romero, the (Liberal) Mexican Minister to Washington on the one hand, and, by M. L. de Geoffroy, the French Minister at Washington, on the other.

The United States Secretary of State was attempting to practise 'the cold neutrality of an impartial judge,' which would have been the most proper course to have followed. Unfortunately the lead of Washington was not accepted on the frontier, and here the partiality shown by the American military authorities for the Liberals was proving an exceedingly heavy handicap for both the Imperialists and their French supporters.

Mr. Seward always cordially distrusted Napoleon III., and in this he was in accord with Lord Palmerston, who held the French emperor in something like contempt. Even Prince Gortschakoff, the great Russian diplomat, had observed of Napoleon, 'he is constantly thrusting a thousand-franc note into one's palm to commit some infamy or other.' The American government had, indeed, every reason to regard Napoleon with profound suspicion from the first days of the Mexican intervention, notwithstanding the suave language of diplomacy which characterised the long drawn-out negotiations and correspondence passing between Washington and Paris between 1862 and 1867.

Mr. William L. Dayton, writing to his government at Washington from Paris, rather seems to have occasionally exceeded the usual diplomatic latitude by venturing to 'advise' the Secretary of State as to his future policy with regard to Mexico. He tells Mr. Seward, for instance, on 7th April 1864, that 'any action at present by the United States would be sure to embroil us with France,' adding, 'We cannot, under existing circumstances, afford a war with France for the Quixotic purpose of helping Mexico.'

Mr. Seward, seemingly, cordially approved of the sentiments expressed, for at a later date (17th March 1865) we find him writing to Mr. Dayton's successor,[1] Mr. John Bigelow: 'This government has not interfered. It does not propose to interfere. . . . It firmly repels foreign intervention here, and looks with disfavour upon it anywhere. Therefore, for us to intervene in Mexico would be only to reverse our own principles, and to adopt in regard to that country the very policy which in any case we disallow.'

---

[1] Mr. Dayton died after an attack of apoplexy at Paris on 1st December 1864. He was a very valuable public servant, and proved himself at critical times an able, judicious, and discreet representative abroad.

Mr. Bigelow, however, went even further than his predecessor in laying down the policy of the United States, and upon one occasion, at least, he seems to have provoked a mild kind of reprimand from the Secretary of State. Mr. Bigelow had informed the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that, 'now the experiment has been begun, the Americans urged it to be fully tried, under circumstances best calculated to determine finally and for ever whether European systems of government suited the Mexican people. If it should appear that they did, and public tranquillity was restored, no nation was more interested in such a result than her immediate neighbours.'

It is small wonder that a statement of such moment as this, emanating from an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, should have occasioned great satisfaction to the French government, since it entirely put aside any intention of the United States to object further should the monarchy in Mexico prove successful.

Mr. Bigelow, however, was informed by Mr. Seward, in a despatch dated 30th June 1865: 'it is thought that the argument which you have recited is not warranted by the instructions of this department. It will be well, at your convenience, to make this explanation to M. Drouyn de l'Huys. So far as our relations are concerned, what we hold in regard to Mexico is that France is a belligerent there, in war with the Republic of Mexico. We do not enter into the merits of the belligerents, but we practise in regard to the contest the principles of neutrality; and we have insisted upon the practice of neutrality by all nations with regard to our civil war.' Mr. Seward concluded by assuring Mr. Bigelow that 'he attached no importance to this matter.'

From the sea of diplomatic statements and counter-statements, affirmations and denials, enveloped in that complex and confused phraseology so dear to the amateur diplomat—and so studiously avoided by the real and experienced statesman—it was possible to evolve the further fact that the sentiments of the United States were somewhat as follows: They preferred to see a domestic and republican rather than any other system of government prevail in Mexico. This preference resulted from the circumstance that the Constitution of the United States itself is domestic and republican, and from a belief that not only its constituent parts ought to preserve the same form and character, but that, as far as is practically and justly attainable by the exercise of moral influence, the many American States by which the United States are surrounded shall be distinguished by the same peculiarities of government. While the United States did not insist or claim that Mexico and the other States on the American continent should adopt the political institutions to which the North Americans are so earnestly attached, they held that the people of these countries are entitled to exercise the freedom of choosing and establishing institutions like their own if they are preferred.

Nothing could have been more moderately or acceptably put than this exposition of the United States policy, as advanced by Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, and it stood out in bold contrast to the wild threats which were then, and since have been, indulged in regarding the interference by any European power in the affairs of the Latin-American Republics.

No doubt the favourable termination of the civil strife in the United States, which had started in 1861, almost simultaneously with the commencement of the French intervention in Mexico, had influenced the firm stand taken up latterly by the Washington government with regard to Mexico. The intense popular interest which was awakened by the prevalence of this internecine struggle tended, to no small extent, to moderate the solicitude which the situation of foreign affairs was calculated to create; but with the subsidence of that interest and anxiety, occasioned by the return of the disaffected States, one by one, to the Union of the United States, Congress again became alive to the undesirability of any radical change of government taking place so near at hand, and now found itself in a position to make its views both heard and heeded.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, AND
OTHER UNITED STATES MINISTERS AT A COUNCIL MEETING

But the ever-cautious Mr. Seward foresaw commercial complications ahead, should there arise any armed friction between the United States and France, by which 'the almighty dollar' would be made to suffer. In a 'confidential' letter addressed to Mr. Gustavus Koerner, who (notwithstanding his Teutonic name) held the position of the United States Minister at Madrid, bearing date 19th May 1864, the Secretary of State observed: 'Should the sentiment of this country (U.S.A.) demand a reconsideration of the policy of neutrality which the government has hitherto maintained, it is very much to be feared that new complications might arise, which would not merely disturb the existing systems of commerce, but might endanger the general peace of nations. I need not enlarge upon the subject I have thus presented.'

After four years of such correspondence, much of which proved colourless and most of it ineffective, after alternate threats and ambiguous cajolery; when the United States government must have become weary of declaring its unswerving desire to see the backs of the French in Mexico, and the reiterated determination of the French to remain where they were—since 'France was not in the habit of marching except to her own tune'—Napoleon withdrew his troops and left his dupe Maximilian to shift for himself. To this extent, then, the United States triumphed, managing to secure the withdrawal of the objectionable European power without having actually to unsheath the sword as it had menaced but so much dreaded.

APPENDIX I

CONVENTION DE LONDRES

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, Sa Majesté la Reine d'Espagne et Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, se trouvant placées, par la conduite arbitraire et vexatoire des autorités de la République du Mexique, dans la nécessité d'exiger de ces autorités une protection plus efficace pour les personnes et les propriétés de leurs sujets, ainsi que l'exécution des obligations contractées envers Elles par la République du Mexique, se sont entendues pour conclure entre Elles une convention dans le but de combiner leur action commune, et, à cet effet, ont nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, Son Excellence le comte de Flahault de la Billarderie, sénateur, général de division, grand-croix de l'ordre impérial de la Légion d'honneur, son ambassadeur extraordinaire auprès de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande ;

Sa Majesté la Reine d'Espagne, Son Excellence don Xavier de Isturiz y Montero, chevalier de l'ordre insigne de la Toison d'or, grand-croix de l'ordre royal de Charles III., grand-croix de l'ordre impérial de la Légion d'honneur, sénateur du royaume, son envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire à la cour de Sa Majesté la Reine du royaume-uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande ;

Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, le très-honorable Jean comte Russell, vicomte Amberley de Amberley et Artsalla, pair du royaume-uni, conseiller de Sa Majesté en son conseil privé, principal secrétaire d'État de Sa Majesté pour les affaires étrangères,

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pouvoirs, sont tombés d'accord pour arrêter les articles suivants :

Art. 1er. Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, Sa Majesté la Reine d'Espagne et Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande s'engagent à arrêter, après la signature de la présente convention, les dispositions nécessaires pour envoyer sur les côtes du Mexique des forces de terre et de mer combinées, dont l'effectif sera déterminé par un échange ultérieur de communications entre leurs gouvernements, mais dont l'ensemble devra être suffisant pour pouvoir saisir et occuper les différentes forteresses et positions militaires du littoral mexicain.

Les commandants des forces alliées seront, en outre, autorisés à accomplir les autres opérations qui seraient jugées, sur les lieux, les plus propres à réaliser le but spécifié dans le préambule de la présente convention, et notamment à assurer la sécurité des résidents étrangers.

Toutes les mesures dont il s'agit dans cet article seront prises au nom et pour le compte des Hautes Parties contractantes, sans acception de la nationalité des forces employées à les exécuter.

Art. 2. Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à ne rechercher pour elles-mêmes, dans l'emploi des mesures coercitives prévues par la présente convention, aucune acquisition de territoire, ni aucun avantage particulier, et à n'exercer, dans les affaires intérieures du Mexique aucune influence de nature à porter atteinte au droit de la nation mexicaine de choisir et de constituer librement la forme de son gouvernement.

Art. 3. Une commission composée de trois commissaires, un nommé par chacune des Puissances contractantes, sera établie avec plein pouvoir de statuer sur toutes les questions que pourraient soulever l'emploi et la distribution des sommes d'argent qui seront recouvrées au Mexique en ayant égard aux droits respectifs des parties contractantes.

Art. 4. Les Hautes Parties contractantes désirant, en outre, que les mesures qu'elles ont l'intention n'aient pas un caractère exclusif, et sachant que le gouvernement des États-Unis a, de son côté, des réclamations à faire valoir, comme elles, contre la République mexicaine, conviennent qu'aussitôt après la signature de la présente convention, il en sera communiquée une copie au gouvernement des États-Unis, que ce gouvernement sera invité à y accéder, et qu'en prévision de cette accession, leurs ministres respectifs à Washington seront immédiatement munis de leurs pleins pouvoirs, à l'effet de conclure et de signer collectivement ou séparément, avec le plénipotentiaire désigné par le président des États-Unis, une convention identique, sauf suppression du présent article, à celles qu'elles signent à la date de ce jour. Mais, comme les Hautes Parties contractantes s'exposeraient, en apportant quelque retard à la mise à exécution des articles 1 et 2 de la présente Convention, à manquer le but qu'elles désiraient atteindre, Elles sont tombées d'accord de ne pas différer, en vue d'obtenir l'accession du gouvernement des États-Unis, le commencement des opérations susmentionnées au delà de l'époque à laquelle leurs forces combinées pourront être réunies dans les parages de Vera-Cruz.

Art. 5. La présente convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Londres dans le délai de quinze jours.

En foi de quoi, les plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signée et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.

Fait à Londres, en triple original, le trente et unième jour du mois d'octobre de l'an de grace mil huit cent soixante et un.

Flahault.
Xavier de Isturiz.
Russell.

APPENDIX II

CONVENTION DE LA SOLEDAD

Article 1er. Étant admis que le gouvernement constitutionnel, qui régit actuellement la République du Mexique, a déclaré aux commissaires des puissances alliées, qu'il n'a pas besoin du secours que ces commissaires ont offert avec tant de bienveillance au peuple mexicain, attendu qu'il possède en lui-même les éléments de force et d'opinion nécessaires pour se maintenir contre toute révolte intestine, les alliées se placent dès à present sur le terrain des traités pour formuler toutes les réclamations qu'ils ont à faire au nom de leurs nations respectives.

Art. 2. Dans ce but, les représentants des puissances alliées protestant, comme ils protestent, qu'ils n'ont aucune intention de porter atteinte à l'indépendance, à la souveraineté et à l'intégrité du territoire de la République, des négociations s'ouvriront à Orizaba où devront se réunir MM. les commissaires et deux des ministres du gouvernement de la République, à moins que des deux côtés on ne convienne de se faire représenté par des délégués.

Art. 5. Pendant la durée des négociations, les forces des puissances alliées occuperont les trois villes de Cordova, Orizaba et Tehuacán avec leurs rayons naturels.

Art. 4. Afin qu'il ne puisse entrer dans la pensée de personne que les alliées ont signé ces préliminaires pour se procurer le

passage des positions fortifiées qu'occupe l'armée mexicaine, il est stipulé que si, malheureusement, les négociations venaient à se rompre, les forces alliées évacueraient les villes susdites et retourneraient se placer sur la ligne qui est en deçà desdites fortifications, sur le chemin de la Vera-Cruz ; les points extrêmes principaux en étant celui de Paso-Ancho, sur la route de Cordova et celui de Paso de Ovejas, sur la route de Jalapa.

Art. 5. S'il arrivait malheureusement que les négociations se rompissent et que les troupes alliées se retirassent sur la ligne indiquée dans l'article précédent, les hôpitaux qu'elles auraient établis resteraient sous la sauvegarde de la nation mexicaine.

Art. 6. Le jour où les troupes alliées se mettront en marche pour occuper les points indiqués dans l'article 3, le pavillon mexicain sera arboré sur la ville de la Vera-Cruz et sur le château de Saint-Jean d'Ulloa.

Soledad, *le* 19 *février* 1862.

APPENDIX II

[Translation]

CONVENTION OF LA SOLEDAD

Preliminaries agreed upon between the Count de Reuss and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Republic.

1st. Inasmuch as the constitutional government, which governs through the Mexican Republic, has manifested to the commissioners of the allied powers that it does not need the assistance which they have so generously offered to the Mexican people, it having within itself the elements of power and public opinion to sustain itself against any intestine revolution, the allies immediately enter upon the ground of treaties to draw up all the claims which they have to present in the name of their respective nations.

2nd. To that end, and the representatives of the allied powers protesting, as they do protest, that they do not attempt anything against the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of the territory of the Republic, the negotiations will be opened at Orizaba, to which city the commissioners will repair, and also two of the ministers of the government of the Republic, excepting in the case that, by mutual consent, it should be agreed upon to appoint representatives delegated by both parties.

3rd. During the negotiations the forces of the allied powers shall occupy the three towns of Cordoba, Orizaba, and Tehuacán, with their natural *radii*.

4th. In order that it may not, even in the most remote manner, be believed that the allies have signed these preliminaries in order to procure for themselves the passage of the fortified positions which the Mexican army holds, it is stipulated that, in the unfortunate event of the breaking-off of the negotiations, the forces of the allies shall withdraw from the aforesaid towns, and shall again occupy the line which is in front of said fortifications in the direction of Vera Cruz, the principal extreme points being those of the Paso-Ancho, on the Cordoba road, and the Paso de Ovejas, on the Jalapa road.

5th. Should the unfortunate event occur of the breaking-off of the negotiations and the withdrawal of the allied forces to the line indicated in the preceding article, the hospitals which the allies may have there shall remain under the safeguard of the Mexican nation.

6th. On the day on which the allied forces shall commence their march to occupy the points mentioned in article 2nd, the Mexican flag shall be raised in the city of Vera Cruz and upon the castle of San Juan de Ulloa.

La Soledad, nineteenth of February, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

El Conde de Reuss.
Manuel Doblado.
Approved. C. Lennox Wycke.
Approved. Hugh Dunlop.

The above preliminaries are approved.

A. de Saligny.

The above preliminaries are approved.

E. Jurien.

Mexico, 23*rd February* 1862.

I approve these preliminaries, in virtue of the ample powers with which I am invested.

Benito Juarez,
President of the Republic.
Jesus Teran,
Minister of Foreign and Home Affairs.

APPENDIX III

PROCLAMATION OF REAR-ADMIRAL JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE AND M. DE SALIGNY

To the Nation :—

Mexicans ! We have not come here with the object of taking part in your dissensions ; we have come to put a stop to them. What we wish is to call upon all honest men to aid us in consolidating order, and in regenerating your beautiful country. In proof of the sincere spirit of conciliation with which we are animated, we have, in the first place, directed ourselves to the same government against which we have motives of the most serious complaints. We have asked it to accept our aid in establishing in Mexico a state of things that might in future avoid the necessity of these long expeditions, the greatest inconvenience of which is the suspension of commerce and the cessation of those relations which are as advantageous to Europe as to your own country. The Mexican government has answered to the moderation of our conduct by taking measures to which we never would have given our approval, and which the civilised world would reproach us for sanctioning by our presence. Between it and ourselves war is now declared. But we do not confound the Mexican people with an oppressive and violent minority. The Mexicans have ever had a right to our warmest sympathies ; it remains to them to show themselves worthy of them. We appeal to all those who may have confidence in our intervention, no matter to what party they may have belonged. No enlightened man can ever believe that a government born from the suffrage of one of the most liberal nations of Europe could for a moment have had the intention of restoring in a foreign country ancient abuses and institutions which no longer appertain to the age. We wish equal justice for all, and we wish that this justice should not be imposed by the force of our arms. The Mexican people must be the first instrument of their own salvation. Our only aim is to inspire the honourable and pacific portion of the country—that is to say, to the nine-tenths of the population—with the courage to declare their free will.

If the Mexican nation remains inert, if she does not comprehend that we offer her an unexpected occasion to escape from an abyss, if she does not lend by her efforts a sentiment and a practical morality to our support, it is evident that nothing is now left for us to do but to occupy ourselves with the necessary interests, in view of which the 'Convention of London' was concluded. Let all men, so long divided by quarrels without an object, hasten to unite with us; they hold in their hands the destinies of Mexico. The French flag has been planted upon Mexican soil, and that flag shall not retrocede. Let all upright men hail it as a friendly banner; let the insensate dare to attack it!

E. JURIEN,
A. DE SALIGNY,
Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, in Mexico.

CORDOBA, 16*th April* 1862.

APPENDIX IV

CONVENTION DE MIRAMAR

(10 *avril* 1864)

LE gouvernement de S.M. l'Empereur des Français et celui de S.M. l'Empereur du Mexique, animés d'un désir égal d'assurer le rétablissement de l'ordre au Mexique et de consolider le nouvel Empire, ont résolu de régler par une convention les conditions du séjour des troupes françaises dans ce pays, et ont nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires à cet effet, savoir:

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français M. Charles-François-Édouard Herbet, ministre plénipotentiaire de 1re classe, conseiller d'État, directeur au ministère des affaires étrangères, grand officier de son ordre impérial de la Légion d'honneur, etc.

Et Sa Majesté l'Empereur du Mexique, M. Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, son ministre d'État sans portefeuille, grand officier de l'ordre distingué de Notre-Dame de Guadalupe, etc.

Lesquels après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des articles suivants:

Article 1er. Les troupes françaises qui se trouvent actuellement au Mexique seront réduites le plus tôt possible à un corps de 25,000 hommes, y compris la légion étrangère.

Ce corps, pour sauvegarder les intérêts qui ont motivé l'inter-

vention, restera temporairement au Mexique dans les conditions réglées par les articles suivants :

Art. 2. Les troupes françaises évacueront le Mexique au fur et à mesure que S.M. l'Empereur du Mexique pourra organiser les troupes nécessaires pour les remplacer.

Art. 3. La Légion étrangère au service de la France, composée de 8000 hommes, demeurera néanmoins encore pendant six années au Mexique, après que toutes les autres forces françaises auront été rappelées conformément à l'article 2. A dater de ce moment, ladite légion passera au service et à la solde du gouvernement mexicain. Le gouvernement mexicain se réserve la faculté d'abréger la durée de l'emploi au Mexique de la légion étrangère.

Art. 4. Les points du territoire à occuper par les troupes françaises, ainsi que les expéditions militaires de ces troupes, s'il y a lieu, seront déterminés de commun accord et directement entre Sa Majesté l'Empereur du Mexique et le commandant en chef du corps français.

Art. 5. Sur tous les points où la garnison ne sera pas exclusivement composée de troupes mexicaines, le commandement militaire sera dévolu au commandant français.

En cas d'expéditions combinées de troupes françaises et mexicaines le commandement supérieur de ces troupes appartiendra également au commandant français.

Art. 6. Les commandants français ne pourront intervenir dans aucune branche de l'administration mexicaine.

Art. 7. Tant que les besoins du corps d'armée français nécessiteront tous les deux mois un service de transports entre la France et le port de Vera-Cruz, les frais de ce service, fixés à la somme de 400,000 fr. par voyage (aller et retour) seront supportés par le gouvernement mexicain et payés à Mexico.

Art. 8. Les stations navales que la France entretient dans les Antilles et dans l'Océan Pacifique enverront souvent des navires montrer le drapeau français dans les ports du Mexique.

Art. 9. Les frais de l'expédition française au Mexique à rembourser par le gouvernement mexicain sont fixés à la somme de 270 millions pour tout le temps de la durée de cette expédition jusqu'au 1er juillet 1864. Cette somme sera productive d'intérêts à raison de 3 p.% par an.

A partir du 1er juillet, toutes les dépenses de l'armée mexicaine restent à la charge du Mexique.

Art. 10. L'indemnité à payer à la France par le gouvernement mexicain, pour dépense de solde, nourriture et entretien des troupes du corps d'armée à partir du 1^er^ juillet 1864, demeure fixée à la somme de 1000 fr. par homme et par an.

Art. 11. Le gouvernement mexicain remettra immédiatement au gouvernement français la somme de 66 millions en titres de l'emprunt au taux d'émission, savoir : 54 millions en déduction de la dette mentionnée dans l'article 9, et 12 millions comme à-compte sur les indemnités dues à des Français en vertu de l'article 14 de la présente convention.

Art. 12. Pour le paiement du surplus des frais de guerre et pour l'acquittement des charges mentionnés dans les articles 7, 10 et 14, le gouvernement mexicain s'engage à payer annuellement à la France la somme de 25 millions en numéraire. Cette somme sera imputée : 1 sur les sommes dues en vertu desdits articles 7 et 10 ; 2 sur le montant, en intérêts et principal, de la somme fixée dans l'article 9 ; 3 sur les indemnités qui resteront dues à des sujets français en vertu des articles 14 et suivants.

Art. 13. Le gouvernement mexicain versera, le dernier jour de chaque mois, à Mexico, entre les mains du payeur-général de l'armée, ce qu'il devra pour couvrir les dépenses des troupes françaises restées au Mexique conformément à l'article 10.

Art. 14. Le gouvernement mexicain s'engage à indemniser les sujets français des préjudices qu'ils ont indûment soufferts et qui ont motivé l'expédition.

Art. 15. Une commission mixte, composée de trois Français et de trois Mexicains, nommés par leurs gouvernements respectifs, se réunira à Mexico dans un délai de trois mois, pour examiner et régler ces réclamations.

Art. 16. Une commission de révision, composée de deux Français et de deux Mexicains, désignés de la même manière, siégeant à Paris, procédera à la liquidation définitive des réclamations déjà admises par la commission désignée dans l'article précédent et statuera sur celles dont la décision lui aurait été réservée.

Art. 17. Le gouvernement français remettra en liberté tous les prisonniers de guerre mexicains, dès que l'Empereur du Mexique sera entré dans ses États.

Art. 18. La présente convention sera ratifiée et les ratification en seront échangées le plus tôt que faire se pourra.

Fait au château de Miramar, le 10 avril 1864.

Signé : HERBET
JOAQUIN VELASQUEZ DE LEON.

APPENDIX IV

[TRANSLATION]

CONVENTION CONCLUDED BETWEEN FRANCE AND MEXICO, TO REGULATE THE CONDITIONS OF THE STAY OF THE FRENCH TROOPS IN THIS LAST-NAMED COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING PEACE AND CONSOLIDATING THE NEW EMPIRE.

THE Government of the Emperor of the French and that of the Emperor of Mexico, animated by an equal desire to secure the re-establishment of order in Mexico, and to consolidate the new empire, have resolved to regulate by a convention the conditions of the stay of the French troops in that country, and have named their plenipotentiaries to that effect, viz :

The Emperor of the French :—M. Charles Herbet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the first class, Councillor of State, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, etc. ;

And the Emperor of Mexico :—M. Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, his Minister of State without portfolio, Grand Officer of the Distinguished Order of Our Lady of Guadalupe, etc. ;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, agreed on the following provisions :

Art. 1. The French troops at present in Mexico shall be reduced as soon as possible to a corps of 25,000 men, including the foreign legion. This corps, in order to safeguard the interests which led to the intervention, shall remain temporarily in Mexico, on the conditions laid down by the following articles :

Art. 2. The French troops shall evacuate Mexico, in proportion as the Emperor of Mexico shall be able to organise the troops necessary to replace them.

Art. 3. The foreign legion in the service of France, composed of 8000 men, shall nevertheless remain in Mexico six years after all the French troops shall have been recalled, in conformity with article 2. From that moment the said legion shall pass into the service and pay of the Mexican government, which reserves to itself the right of abridging the duration of the employment of the foreign legion in Mexico.

Art. 4. The points of the territory to be occupied by the

French troops, as well as the military expeditions of the said troops, if there be any, shall be determined in common accord, directly between the Emperor of Mexico and the Commandant-in-Chief of the French corps.

Art. 5. On all points where the garrison shall not be exclusively composed of Mexican troops, the military command shall devolve on the French Commander. In case of expeditions combined of French and Mexican troops, the superior direction of those troops shall also belong to the French Commander.

Art. 6. The French Commander shall not interfere with any branch of the administration.

Art. 7. So long as the requirements of the French *corps d'armée* shall necessitate a tri-monthly service of transports between France and Vera Cruz, the expense of the said service, fixed at the sum of 4,000,000 francs per voyage (going and returning), shall be paid by Mexico.

Art. 8. The naval stations which France maintains in the West Indies and in the Pacific Ocean shall despatch frequent vessels and carry the French flag, to the ports of Mexico.

Art. 9. The expenses of the French expedition to Mexico, to be paid by the Mexican government, are fixed at the sum of 270 millions for the duration of the expedition down to 1st July 1864. That sum shall bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum. From the 1st July all the expenses of the Mexican army shall be at the charge of Mexico.

Art. 10. The indemnity to be paid to France by the Mexican government for the pay and maintenance of the troops of the *corps d'armée* after the 1st of July 1864, remains fixed at the sum of 1000 francs a year for each man.

Art. 11. The Mexican government shall hand over to the French government the sum of sixty-six millions in bonds of the loan, at the rate of issue ; viz. fifty-four millions to be deducted from the debt mentioned in article 9, and twelve millions as an instalment of the indemnities due to Frenchmen in virtue of article 14 of the present convention.

Art. 12. For the payment of the surplus of the war expenses, and for acquitting the charges in articles 7, 10, and 14, the Mexican government engages to pay annually to France the sum of twenty-five millions in specie. That sum shall be imputed, first, to the sums due in virtue of articles 7 and 10 ; and secondly, to the amount, interest and principal, of the sum fixed in article 9 ; thirdly, to the indemnities which shall remain due to French subjects in virtue of article 14 and following.

Art. 13. The Mexican government shall pay, on the last day of every month, into the hands of the Paymaster-General of the Army, what shall be due for covering the expenses of the French troops remaining in Mexico, in conformity with article 10.

Art. 14. The Mexican government engages to indemnify French subjects for the wrongs they have newly suffered, and which were the original cause of the expedition.

Art. 15. A mixed commission, composed of three Frenchmen and three Mexicans, appointed by their respective governments, shall meet at Mexico City within three months to examine and determine these claims.

Art. 16. A commission of revision, composed of two Frenchmen and two Mexicans, appointed in the same manner, sitting in Paris, shall proceed to the definite liquidation of the claims already admitted by the commission designated in the preceding article, and shall decide on those which have been received for its decision.

Art. 17. The French government shall set at liberty all the Mexican prisoners of war as soon as the Emperor of Mexico shall have entered his States.

Art. 18. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged as early as possible.

Done at the castle of Miramar, this 10th day of April 1864.

HERBET.
JOAQUIN VELASQUEZ DE LEON.

APPENDIX V

DECREE OF 3RD OCTOBER 1865

WE, MAXIMILIAN, Emperor of Mexico, by the advice of our council of ministers and of our council of state, do decree as follow :

Article 1. All persons belonging to armed bands or societies not legally authorised, whether of a political nature or not, whatever be the number of those forming the band, or its organisation, character or denomination, shall be tried by a court-martial, and, of found guilty if only the act of belonging to such band, they shall be condemned to capital punishment, which shall be executed within twenty-four hours next ensuing after the declaration of the sentence.

Article 2. Persons belonging to the bands described in the foregoing article, when caught using arms, shall be tried by the commandant of the force making the capture, who, within twenty-four hours after such apprehension, shall cause the offence to be verbally investigated, hearing the offender in his own defence. A record of such investigation shall be written down, terminating with the sentence, which shall be to capital punishment should the offender be found guilty, if even solely of the fact of belonging to the band. The commanding officer shall cause the sentence to be executed within twenty-four hours, allowing the culprit to receive spiritual consolation; and after execution of the sentence the said officer will forward a record of the proceedings to the minister of war.

Article 3. Exemption from the penalty decreed in the foregoing articles shall be allowed solely to such persons as may be able to show that they were forcibly kept with the band, or that they met with it accidentally.

Article 4. If, upon holding an investigation as prescribed by article 2, evidence should appear tending to the presumption that the prisoner had been forcibly kept with the band, without having committed any offence, or that without belonging to such a band he had accidentally fallen in with it, then in such case the commanding officer shall not pronounce sentence, but forward the presumed offender, together with a written statement of the proceedings, to the proper court-martial, in order that the latter may try the case in accordance with article 1.

Article 5. The following persons shall be tried and sentenced conformably to article 1 of this decree: 1. All who voluntarily assist guerrillas with money, or give them any other species of material aid. 2. Those who may give them information, news, or advice. 3. Those who voluntarily transfer or sell to guerrillas, knowing them to be guerrillas, arms, horses, ammunition, provisions, or any other articles useful in warfare.

Article 6. The following persons shall also be tried in accordance with article 1, *viz.*: 1. Those who maintain relations with guerrillas indicating connivance with them. 2. Those who voluntarily or knowingly conceal guerrillas in their houses or buildings. 3. Those who circulate orally or in writing false or alarming reports tending to disturb the public peace, and such as make any demonstration against the same. 4. All proprietors or administrators of country estates who neglect to give the authorities immediate information of the passage of any band through their property. The offenders mentioned in sections 1 and 2 of this article shall be punished by imprisonment of from six months to two years' duration, or with from one to three months confinement with hard labour, according to the gravity of the offence. Any person alluded to in section 2, who may be a parent, child, husband, wife, brother or sister of the party concealed shall not suffer the penalty above prescribed, but shall remain under the surveillance of the authorities during such a period as the court-martial may direct. All included in section 3 of this article shall be punished by the imposition of a fine of $25 to $1000, or imprisonment of from one to twelve months, according to the gravity of the offence. Those included in section 4 of this article shall be punished by the imposition of a fine from $200 to $2000.

Article 7. The local authorities in villages who fail to give immediate notice to their superior authorities of the passage of any armed body of men through their limits shall be punished gubernatorially by the said superior authorities, by the imposition of a fine of from $200 to $2000, or with imprisonment from three months up to two years in duration.

Article 8. Any resident of a village or town who, after learning of the approach or transit of an armed body of men through the district, shall fail to notify the authorities of the same, shall be subjected to the payment of a fine varying from $5 to $500.

Article 9. All the male inhabitants of any town between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, and free from physical disability, are required, in the event of the town being threatened by any hostile band, to come forward for its defence immediately upon being called upon; and should they refuse to act they shall be punished by a fine of from $5 to $200, or by from fifteen days to four months' imprisonment. Should the authorities deem it more advisable to punish the town for not having defended itself, a fine of from $200 to $2000 may be imposed, and the same shall be paid jointly by those refusing to come forward for the defence of the place as provided by this article.

Article 10. All proprietors or administrators of landed property who, although able to defend themselves, shall take no steps to prevent the invasion of guerrillas or other outlaws, or who shall fail to notify the nearest military post without delay of such occupation, or who shall receive worn-out or wounded horses belonging to lawless bands upon their property, without informing the authorities, shall be punished by a fine of from $100 to $2000 according to the gravity of the offence; and, if of sufficient gravity, they may be consigned to prison and handed over to the proper court-martial, to be tried in accordance with this law. The fine shall be paid by the offender to the revenue-officer for the district wherein the property may be situated. The first provision of this article shall apply to villages.

Article 11. Any official, whether political, military, or municipal, who shall fail to proceed conformably to the provisions of this law against parties who may be charged with the offences mentioned, or against those suspected of having committed the same, shall be punished gubernatorially by a fine of from $50 to $1000; and should it appear that such neglect arose from complicity with the delinquents, the said official shall, by order of the government, be handed over to a court-martial, in order that he may be duly tried and a penalty decreed suitable to the gravity of the offence.

Article 12. Robbers shall be tried and sentenced in accordance with article 1 of this decree, whatever may be the manner and circumstances of the robbery.

Article 13. The sentences of death rendered for the crimes described in this decree shall be executed within the periods stated, and no petitions for pardon will be received. When a sentence other than capital is rendered against a foreigner, after record has been made of the sentence, the government may use its privilege to expel all dangerous foreigners from the national territory.

Article 14. Full amnesty will be granted to all who have belonged or do now belong to armed bands, if they present themselves to the authorities before the 15th of November next: provided always that they have committed no other offence, reckoning from the date of the present decree. The authorities will take possession of the arms of such as present themselves for amnesty.

Article 15. The government reserves the right to declare when the provisions of this decree shall cease.

Our ministers are intrusted with the execution of this decree as far as each is concerned, and they will issue the necessary orders for its strict observance.

Given at the Palace of Mexico on the 3d of October 1865.

Maximilian.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs charged with the Ministry of State, José V. Ramirez.

The Minister of War,
Juan de Dios Pesa.

The Minister of Improvement,
Luis Roblés Pezuela.

The Minister of the Interior,
José Maria Esteva.

The Minister of Justice,
Pedro Escudero y Eschanova.

The Minister of Public Instruction and Religious Worship,
Manuel Siliceo.

The Sub-Secretary of the Treasury,
Francisco de P. César.

APPENDIX VI

GENERAL SANTA ANNA ADVOCATES THE MONARCHY

St. Thomas, *15th of October* 1861.

Much Esteemed Friend,—In reply to your favour of the 15th of September, now before me, I must say to you that I had already received the news of the resolution adopted by the three Maritime Powers in regard to Mexico.

From what you tell me, there can be no doubt of a change of situation in a short time.

What remains to be done now is to take advantage of this propitious occasion to realise my long-cherished desires, remembering that such an opportunity never occurs twice.

What you have to do is to remind the governments near which you are accredited of your former petitions, insisting, especially, that Mexico cannot have a lasting peace until the disease is radically cured, and the only remedy is the substitution of a Constitutional Empire for that farce called a Republic. These nations can select one jointly. Remind them, also, that I am now, more than ever, disposed to carry out that idea, and that I will labour without ceasing to effect it.

I do not wish to depreciate the nationality of Mexico. My sole desire is to establish a government of order, to repair the damages of party strife, and to make the Mexicans contented by restoring the Catholic religion, now almost extinct, in a country that used to be famed for its respect and love for religion.

I beg to communicate my resolve to our mutual friend Mr. ———, who I hope will use all his influence in aid of the triumph of correct principles.

In conclusion, I must say to you that since the profanation of our churches, I have determined to become the avenger of so many sacrilegious outrages, trusting that Providence will give me strength to carry out my resolution. . . . I have improved much lately, and hope soon to be in Mexico.

Ever your affectionate friend and countryman,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To Don José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada.

HE APPROVES OF MAXIMILIAN AS EMPEROR

ST. THOMAS, 30*th November* 1861.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—The news you have been kind enough to communicate to me in your esteemed favour of the 31st October, received by the last mail, gave me very great pleasure, because it is so interesting that, if it can be realised, our country will be saved from ruin.

God grant that our dreams may come to pass as soon as possible!

The candidate you mention (his Imperial Highness Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian) is unexceptionable, and I, therefore, hasten to give my approbation. Do me the favour, then, to inform him of it, as well as our friends, but with all reserve, for you know that in politics there are things that must not be published before the proper time, on account of the harm that might be caused.

I think the allied forces will reach Vera Cruz early in next January, and their arrival will be a cause of great rejoicing to all good Mexicans, because they will not be regarded as a threatening enemy, but as benefactors, to save them from the worst of tyrannies.

Public opinion will, undoubtedly, soon pronounce in favour of whatever suits the people.

Convinced that the time to act has come, I am ready to return immediately to my native land, determined to labour with all my strength till the realisation of the undertaking is completed. I will let you know of my departure from this island by the mail of the 17th of December, and I will tell you where to address your letters to me.

Now you see, my friend, I am not dozing when the work is to be commenced, and my acts accord with my words.

If I am permitted to see my country constituted in a way to make it prosperous and happy in the future before I close my eyes in death, I shall be extremely gratified.

Don't fail to send me all the news you get.—Your most obedient servant,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To His Excellency Don José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada.

HE ADDRESSES CONGRATULATIONS TO MAXIMILIAN

ST. THOMAS, *22nd December* 1863.

SIRE,—When I heard that a considerable number of my fellow-countrymen, actuated by the purest patriotism, had fixed upon Your Royal Highness to be called to the throne of Mexico, my soul overflowed with pleasure. If it had been in my power to accompany the Mexican Commission, Your Imperial Highness would have heard from the mouth of one of the noblemen of independence, from one who held for many years the first place among his fellow-citizens, the ratification of what the worthy President of the country expressed with so much eloquence and sincerity.

Yes, Sire, in having the honour to greet Your Imperial Highness, with the rest of my countrymen, as the Emperor of Mexico, and to offer you respectfully my humble services, I can assure you without flattery that my attachment to your august person is boundless; and since distance deprives me of the pleasure of appearing personally in your presence, my pen will do that duty from my present place of residence, hoping Your Imperial Highness will receive the expression of my sentiments with your accustomed benevolence.

I may also assure Your Imperial Highness that the voice raised in Mexico to proclaim your respected name is not the voice of a party. An immense majority of the nation desire to restore the empire of the Montezumas, with Your Imperial Highness at its head, believing it to be the only remedy for existing ills, and the ultimate anchor of its hopes. Accept, then, in absolute confidence, the enthusiastic Mexican vote, and come courageously to the Mexican shores, certain of receiving the demonstrations of love and of profound respect, believing, at the same time, that your agreeable presence will suffice to restore harmony throughout the land. The occasion is propitious. Your Imperial Highness can make the Mexicans happy by placing your name among those of the heroes blessed by posterity.

The vast, beautiful, and fertile soil of Mexico abounds in elements to form a first-class empire on the American continent; consequently it is no insignificant power that is offered to Your Imperial Highness. True, the country has suffered from anarchy for half a century; but under the auspices of peace, with a paternal, just, and enlightened government, its resources will be restored in a few years, and it will be the admiration of the world. Would to heaven I could see this before I end my days.

I hope Your Imperial Highness will condescend to acknowledge, to the dean of the Mexican army, a devoted and disinterested friend, a very obedient servant, who wishes you the greatest happiness, and fervently kisses the imperial hands of Your Imperial Highness. A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

His Imperial and Royal Highness,
Archduke FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN *of Austria.*

NOTE.—Maximilian's 'accustomed benevolence' must have been slumbering when he received this grovelling letter from the arch-humbug Santa Anna, for he never condescended even to acknowledge it.

AUTHOR.

SANTA ANNA'S PROCLAMATION

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, WELL-DESERVING CITIZEN OF THE COUNTRY, AND GENERAL OF DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL ARMIES OF MEXICO, TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

MEXICANS! He who has always addressed you on solemn occasions, whether to explain to you his political conduct to give you advice, or to offer you his sword, is the same who now claims from you the greatest calmness and attention, in order that you may listen to him once more. I speak to you from the heart. I have never deceived you, because truth has always been my rule.

The respect which in all times and under all circumstances I have paid the majority of the people, imposes upon me the duty to impress upon you that which you have already read in my manifesto, issued at Vera Cruz on the 27th of February 1864.

I adhered to the system of government which appeared to be proclaimed by a considerable majority, in obedience to the principles which I professed, and based upon submission to the national will, under the conviction that the Mexicans were those who, exercising their civil omnipotence, had given themselves new institutions, and were trying to find the way to conciliate order with liberty. But what a painful error! From this hospitable island (St. Thomas) I contemplate with increasing indignation the scaffold which the tyranny of a usurping people is raising in our beloved country to stain it with the blood of our brothers, and for the destruction of our people.

From this island I have contemplated also, with pride, your struggle for life with the invaders of your country, the soldiers called forth by the intervention, and the trumpet of the free has made my heart palpitate with joy, as in the happy days in which we combated together in defence of our firesides and our outraged rights. The hopes of those who sought in a Monarchy the repose which the Republic denied, have been disappointed; the national dignity has been contemned, justice derided, our holy rights trodden under foot, thought enslaved, prostitution elevated and virtue vilified, the sanctuary draped in mourning, and the church afflicted with tribulations. Terror is seated upon the scaffold, brandishing over patriots the knife of extermination! War to the invaders! Liberty or death should be the cry of every generous bosom in which honour has her home, independence her altar, and liberty her rites.

We thought that the Archduke Maximilian of Austria would restore to us peace, and he has been the new element of discord; that with wise laws he would enrich our treasury, and he has impoverished it in an incredible manner; that he could bring us happiness, but the misfortunes are innumerable which in so short a time he has heaped upon the ruins of ensanguined Mexico; that in fine he would be consistent in his principles and promises if he accepted the views of President Juarez in all that related to reform; at the same time he persecutes him and gives him war to the knife.

European adventurers form his guard of honour. The French bayonets are the foundation of his throne, and in the meantime so many see themselves condemned to oblivion, to the contempt of the veterans of independence, once the glory of our nation, and now objects of derision and mockery for the foreign soldiery. Such insults cannot be tolerated any longer. The hour has come in which we should exterminate from the sacred soil of the free the farcical rabble who profane the land with their feet, and insult us with their presence.

Liberals and Conservatives! Forget out fratricidal contentions, and advance to the rescue. Let us unite together against the common enemy. One banner covers us—the flag of Liberty! One thought alone animates us, that of war and death to the invaders who destroy our towns and cities and behead our brothers. Eternal execration to the tyrants of our country!

Compatriots, if, on reading my Manifesto of last year, your attention should be arrested by the expression that 'the last words of my conscience and of my conviction is constitutional monarchy,' remember that I also said on the same occasion, 'I am not an enemy of democracy, but of its excesses;' and, above all, do not forget that I was the founder of the Republic. A people is free, whatever be its form of government; when the head of the nation forgets that he is human, let him remember only that he is the organ of the law. This, my belief, was also yours when the Republic was changed to an Empire.

But we have been mistaken. The prince whom you chose is not the organ of the law, but the usurper of our rights. He is not the defender of national independence, for if he were he would not cede Sonora.[1] He is not the sovereign of the nation, but the humble vassal of a foreign potentate.

In order to inspire greater confidence in the new form of government which you have just adopted, and to carry to the throne for your benefit the advice of experience, I went to Vera Cruz to meet the proclaimed emperor, disposed to give him, without reserve, all my support; but his arbitrariness and discourtesy closed the doors of my country upon me. The decree of my expulsion was written in a language which our forefathers did not speak.

I owe you an explanation. The public journals of the capital published my recognition of the French intervention. This act of mine did not originate from my own will, but was imposed upon me by the force of circumstances.

Scarcely did the steamer that conducted me anchor in the port, ere a French Commander presented himself before me on board of the vessel as the chief superior of Vera Cruz, and made known to me that I would not be allowed to land, but, on the contrary, he should oblige me to return in the same vessel, if I did not immediately comply with the conditions which he presented to me written in French. These conditions required me to recognise the intervention and the monarch-elect, and to address the people.

---

[1] Sonora was NOT ceded, and Santa Anna knew well enough that it had not been.

Such quiet insolence could only excite my indignation. But the sufferings of my wife, caused by the painful journey by sea, and the advice of some of my friends who came to meet me, inclined me to subscribe to these conditions, which, however, did not liberate me from the annoyances to which I was exposed.

All this proves that the intervention could not be supported without mistrust in the mind of the soldier who had always defended with energy the rights of his country, humbling on various occasions the flag of the haughty potentates and making their so called invincible legions bow under the yoke of democracy.

My friends, in addressing you to-day, I am only inspired with the desire for your happiness and the glory of Mexico. No unworthy sentiments dictate my words. I have shed some drops of my blood in your defence, and I would shed it all, were it necessary, fighting in your armies, if not as a chief, then as a private soldier. In the meantime, while circumstances prevent me from joining your ranks, I wish you to know the sentiments with which I am animated.

Compatriots! On the memorable 2nd of December 1822, I adopted as my motto these words: 'Down with the Empire! Live the Republic!' *Abajo el imperio! Viva la republica!* And now, from the foreign soil upon which I am exiled, I repeat that motto with the same enthusiasm.

A. L. de Sta. Anna.

St. Thomas, 8*th July* 1865.

Note.—This is the effusion of a man who had less than two years previously craved permission of 'your imperial highness to kiss your imperial hands.' The explanation of this patriot's *volte face* may be found in the fact that, hearing of his disreputable history and arrant treachery, Maximilian had refused to receive Santa Anna when he had attempted to force himself upon him at Vera Cruz (May 1864).

APPENDIX VII

Correspondence between Prince Felix zu Salm Salm and Colonel Miguel Lopez.

TO DON MIGUEL LOPEZ

Ex-Colonel of the Mexican Empire, and Author of the Pamphlet entitled 'The Capture of Queretaro; Miguel Lopez to his Countrymen and all the World,'

In the above-mentioned pamphlet, which you address to your countrymen, France, and all the world, you refer to me as principal witness, that Queretaro was not taken by treason, and assert at the same time that your pamphlet has character of 'perfect truth.'

Though, as you know, I have been a prisoner of war for nearly five months, my feeling for justice does not permit me any longer to keep silence, and, answering your summons, I will prove to you that your pamphlet has the character of the most 'perfect *un*truth.'

First I refer to the answer of my gallant companions-in-arms in Morelia, entitled 'Repudiation of the Pamphlet published by Miguel Lopez, in reference to the capture of Queretaro on 15th of May 1867, by the imprisoned Field-Officers of the Imperial army in Morelia,' and declare that it is perfectly conformable with truth, and entirely expresses also my opinion.

Before the world you assert that Queretaro had been taken by force of arms; the emperor had, on the fatal night, from 14th to 15th May, commissioned you to treat with the enemy; that our army had been perfectly demoralised; that no sortie had been possible any more; and, finally, before your countrymen—nay, before the whole world—you challenge those men who assert that Queretaro fell by treason, and who dare contradict your assertions.

I declare to you before the world, that Queretaro did *not* fall in any other manner than by treason; that you are the traitor; and that the blood of your former sovereign and benefactor is on your hands.

It is a lie that the emperor had commissioned you to negotiate with the enemy.

After you had left the emperor on the night in question, I had the honour of seeing him at about half-past twelve; the emperor had *never*, and certainly not at that moment, the least intention of entering into any negotiations with the enemy, for his small but faithful army were still courageous and gallant enough to cut their way through the line of the enemy with their beloved monarch. Not to mention that it was utterly against the character of the late emperor to have given you the order to negotiate with the enemy, of which you yourself are perfectly convinced, you will, I think, permit me to ask you before the whole world a few questions:

If you, on the fatal night of the 14th of May, were ordered to go to the camp of the enemy, why did you, about two o'clock, return with a higher Liberal officer, whom you know very well,[1] and introduce him into La Cruz, in the headquarters of the emperor, in our redoubt?

Why did you give, decidedly against the will and without the knowledge of the emperor, an order to the life escort and the Hungarian hussars to unsaddle, whilst I had conveyed to them the order of the emperor to remain saddled?

Why did you, in such a dangerous situation, and on your own responsibility, remove the guard from outside the emperor's room and the company of infantry, who, together with half a company of the Regiment of the Empress, were on duty?

Why were all localities of La Cruz, with but few exceptions, completely deprived of troops to the remotest *huerta*[2] on your orders?

Why were the eight guns which stood on the Plaza de la Cruz turned with their mouths towards the city?

Why was the 66-pounder, which was placed in the work to the left of La Cruz, deprived of its gunners, and upset when the enemy advanced?

Why did you, after two o'clock A.M., lead the same General, who was in citizen's dress, and had a small revolver in his pocket, round into our fort, that he might become acquainted with it?

Why did you, before four o'clock A.M., accompanied by the same General, again leave our lines and return a quarter of an hour later *at the head of two battalions of the enemy, and, serving them in person as a guide*, conduct them into the interior yard of La Cruz, where you were received and greeted by your accomplice, Lieut.-Colonel Jablonsky?

How did it happen that you, Miguel Lopez, who by chance had been 'captured,' could send off the likewise 'captured' Jablonsky (who, again, had with him his brother-in-law Legoretta, whose place was at that time in the line on the river, about two miles distant from La Cruz), to give the emperor warning that the enemy had entered La Cruz ?

---

[1] General Velez.

[2] An orchard, or fruit-garden.

How is it to be explained *that you, a prisoner,* then went *yourself* to the emperor to make to him the same communication, and that you, after that, without being accompanied by an enemy, came *alone* into my room, calling out 'Quick ! Save the life of the emperor ; the enemy is already in La Cruz ?

How can you explain the following :—When his majesty, accompanied by the faithful General Castillo and myself, left La Cruz, and was already surrounded by the enemy, you whispered some words to a higher officer of the enemy, whose name I do not give here [1] (because he acted more nobly and more *gratefully* than you), upon which this officer of the enemy ordered his soldiers to let us pass *because we were citizens,* though the General ought to have been well-known by this officer, as both General Castillo and myself were in full uniform, and I, moreover, had in my hand the pistols of his majesty ?

How is it to be explained that you, at the head of the Nuevo Leon battalion of the enemy, disarmed and caused the hussars, under command of Captain Pavlowsky and First-Lieutenant Kodolich, to dismount ?

How can you justify to yourself that *you,* the prisoner Lopez, captured *officers of our army*—among them Major Moscowiecki, Captain Antonio Gonzales, of the body-guard, and Lieutenant Gossmann—and, moreover, denounced many other officers next day ?

How is to be explained that, after our capture, higher Liberal officers named you as the traitor ? One of them, Colonel Pepi Rincón, named *you as the traitor.* He denounced you as the traitor even in the presence of the emperor and myself, adding, 'Such people (like you) are made use of and then dismissed with a kick.'

How did it happen that you, the prisoner Lopez, were *always* free ?

How was it, finally, possible that the prisoner Lopez could take possession of the Imperial archives, as of other things belonging to his majesty, such, for instance, his silver toilet, which, by the way be it mentioned, never afterwards made its appearance ?

---

[1] Colonel Pepi Rincón.

All this you *cannot* answer *honestly* and *openly*, and I declare before the whole world that YOU were the betrayer of the emperor, and therefore his murderer, and the cause of all the blood which was shed here.

There remains still another question to address to you :

Why, then, have you betrayed your emperor and benefactor ?

This question I will, however, answer myself :

First, you would revenge yourself against the emperor because he retained your general's commission, which was already signed. If you should not know what induced the late monarch to do so, you may learn it now.

A brave man,[1] whose blood also stains your conscience, and whom I will not name lest you should take revenge upon his family, submitted to his majesty a document, in which you, under the presidency of Santa Anna, were cashiered disgracefully by an army order, with the addition that you should never again be employed in the service of the country, against which you had committed treason. That occurred at the time of the American war in 1847.

And then, Miguel Lopez, you have been urged by *fear*. You became aware that decisive actions must take place within the following days, and during a sortie of our army, and looking back on your past, you were afraid of your fate, you feared for your life ; and by the second basest treason you would exonerate and save yourself, and really succeeded in saving your life and liberty.

Your third attempt at treason did not, however, succeed ; for after the emperor had been a prisoner a short time, you, probably disappointed in your expectations, sent a person whom we both know to the emperor and offered to betray the Liberal party.

That person spoke in my presence in your behalf, and desired to know whether you might again venture to approach the emperor.

Your proposition was, of course, refused with contempt.

You need not offer the house, with which the emperor presented you, as a reward for us if we convict you of your treason. May it remain to you and your innocent child, whom you have robbed of the most precious of all heritages—the honour of his father.

A man may follow any party, of what tendency it may be ; but he must remain true to his principles. You were not only faithless to yours, but you have, besides, committed the most infamous of all crimes—the crime of treason, and have broken the oath sworn to the Imperial flag.

---

[1] Miramón.

It is true, the name of Miguel Lopez has become historical and immortal; but the history of Mexico, universal history, will always mention that name with disgust and contempt.

You challenge before the world those who accuse you of treason: I do so; and before the world I accept your challenge. I have sufficient confidence in the government to hope that it will not place any impediment in our way.

In a very short time I shall go with my imprisoned comrades to Oaxaca, our new place of destination. There you will find me, after publication of this letter, ready with arms in my hand, to call you to account for that of which I have informed you in the above lines.

At the same time, I declare that I under no circumstances will engage in a pen war with you.

FELIX, PRINCE ZU SALM SALM.
Brigadier-General, and First Aide-de-Camp of
his late Majesty Emperor Maximilian.

In prison, Convent de los Capuchinos,
Queretaro, 4th October 1867.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In Spanish

El Libro Rojo. 1520-1867; por Riva Palacio (Vicente) y Payno (Manuel) Mexico, 1870.

Apuntes para servir a la Historia de les Defensores de Puebla; por Huerta (Epitacio) Mexico, 1868.

Cuentas, Gastos, Acreedores y otros asuntos del tiempo de la Intervencion Francésa y del Imperio; por Payno (M.) Mexico, 1868.

Mexico y sus Cuestiones Financiéras con la Inglaterra; la Espagna y la Francia; por Payno (M.) Mexico, 1862.

Reglamento Provisional; por el Servicio y Ceremonial de la Corte. Mexico, 1864.

Advenimiento de SS. MM. SS. Maximiliano y Carlota al Trono de Mexico. Mexico, 1864.

Cuartro palabras al Abate Testery; por Aguilar de Bustamente (Javier) Mexico, 1865.

Aniversario del 5 de Mayo de 1862 y festividad inaugural del Institute Literarie del Estado. Cuernavaca, 1872.

Sermon en Cholula, Agosta 16, 1863. Mexico, 1864.

Apuntes sobre la Convención Espanola fermados en 1859 y 1868.

Espana y Mexico. Arboloya (José G. de), Habana, 1861-1862.

Resono Historica del Ejercito del Norte; sitio de Queretaro; Captura de Maximiliano. Mexico, 1867.

Apuntes para la Historia del Segundo Imperio Mexicano; por Arrangois. (Francisco de Paula de——) Madrid, 1869.

Exposicion al Emperador. Barron de Escandón. Mexico, 1866.

Recuerdos de Mexico. Basch (Samuel). Mexico, 1870.

Defensa de reo Zeferino Ramirez. Bejarano (Jesus R.). Mexico, 1864.

Biblioteca Reformista. Por Angel Pola (8 vols.). Mexico, 1900-1906.

El Capitan Armande. Mexico, 1872. Blanco (Manuel)

Maximiliano Intimo. El Emperador Maximiliano y su Corte. Memorias de un Secretario Particular. Blasio (José L.), Paris and Mexico, 1905.

Boletin de las Leyes del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1866.

Reglamento de los Tribunales Correccionales. Mexico, 5th Feb. 1867.

Breves Apuntes para la Guerra de Intervención en Sinaloa. Buena (E). Mazatlan, 1884.

El Verdadero Juarez y la Verdad sobre la Intervención y el Imperio Bulnes (Francisco) Mexico and Paris, 1904.

La Grandes Mentiras de Nuestra Historia, Bulnes (Francisco). Mexico and Paris, 1904.

Calendario Historico de la Princesa Carlota ; para 1869. Mexico, 1869.

Calendario Historico de Maximiliano ; para el ano de 1868. Mexico, 1868.

Carta dirigida al Lic. Don Ezequiel Mentes de Mexico. Queretaro, 1869 ; per Campa (Nicolas).

Apuntes Historicos y Ocurse que presenta à la Suprema Corte de Justicia en el recurso de Ampare que tiene intendado á cause del despojo que del lote No. 1 del Ex-Convento de Jesus Maria que le fue adjudicedo le hizo el Ayuntamiento de esta Capital. Mexico, 1873.

Historia de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles (Puebla de Zaragoza), Carrion (Antonio). Puebla 1887-1900.

Carta Pastoral de los Arzobispos y Obispos. Mexico, 1860.

Refutaciôn al Informe dade en Octubre de 1863. Castellanos (Manuel). Mexico, 1864.

Quienes son los Traidores ? Castro (Emilio), Mexico, 1868.

El Emperador Maximiliano y su augusta esposa la Emperatriz Carlota. Castro (Juan de). Madrid, 1867.

Causa de Fernando Maximiliano de Hapsburgô que se ha titulado Emperador de Mexico y sus Generales Miguel Miramón y Tomás Méjìa sus complices, por delitos contra la Independencia y seguridad de la Naciôn. Mexico, 1868.

Circulares y otras publicaciones hechas por la Legación en Washington durante la Guerra de Intervención, 1862-1868. 2 vols. Mexico, 1868.

Codigo de Instrucción Criminal Francés, traducido al castellan de orden de S. M. el Emperador Maximiliano. Por el General coronel Don Manuel Zavala, coronel retirado D. Ignacio Serrano y coronel graduade, teniente coronel D. Prudencio Mesquia. Mexico, 1865.

Codigo de justicia Militar del Ejercito Francés. Traducido al Castellano de orden de S. M. El Emperador Maximiliano I. Mexico, 1864.

Codigo Civil del Imperio. Libro Primere y Libro Segundo. Mexico, 1866.

Codigo Civil del Imperio. Libro Segundo. De los bienes, la propriedad y sus diferentes modificationes. Mexico, 1866.

Codigo Federal de Procedimientos Penales. Mexico, 1908.

Coleccion de las composiciones poeticas inscritas en los arcos y arrejados al pase de SS. MM. en su solemne entrada a la Capital del Imperao. Mexico, 1864.

Colección de Leyes. Decretos y Reglamentos que interinamente forman el sistema Politico, Administrativo y Judicial del Imperio. Mexico, 1865-1866.

Mexico en 1863. Colina (Rafael B. de la). Puebla, 1863.

Convención (La) Espanola—Contestacion a la Memoria que sobre ella forme Don Manuel Payno. Mexico, 1857.

Correspondencia de la Legacion Mexicana en Washington 1865-66-67. Mexico, 1868-69.

Correspondencia entre la Legacion de la Repûblica Mexican en Wash-

ington, el Departemento de Estado de los Estados Unidos de America y el Gobierno de Mexico, con relacion á la exportación de armas y municiones de guerra de los Estados Unidos para puertos de naciones beligerantes. Mexico, 1867.

Discurso pronunciado en la Alameda de esta Ciudad el 11 de April de 1867, en la solemnización de la Toma de Puebla. Oaxaca, 1867.

Decretos y Reglamentos á que se refiere el Estatuto Provisional del Imperio Mexicano. Primera parte. Mexico, 1865.

Defensa de la Manifestación de los Illmos. Senores Arzobispos y Obispos de la Repáblica Mexicana. Mexico, 1860.

Defensa (La) de la Plaza de Puebla de Zaragoza en 1863. Escrito por le General Jesus Lalanne. Mexico, 1904.

Defensa en favor de los Mexicanos, acusados como Traidores. Puebla, 1867.

El Viajéro en Mexico. Del Valle (Juan N.). Mexico, 1862.

Viaje del Emperador Maximiliano y de la Emperatriz Carlota, desde su palacio de Miramar, cerca de Trieste hasta la capital del Imperio Mexicano. Orizaba, 1864.

Defensa pronunciada en la corte marcial de esta ciudad, el dia 26 de mayo de 1866, pidiende la libertad de Don Domingo Gomez, acusada de mandar recursos á los guerrilleros. Toluca, 1866.

Discurso pronunciado en el palacio de Miramar, el 4 de Octubre de 1863, por Don J. M. Gutierrez de Estrada, presidente de la diputación Mexicana, encargada de ofrecer en nombre de la junta de notables la corona de Mexico á su alteza imperial y real el Archiduque Maximiliano de Austria, y contestacion de S.A.I.Y.R. el Archiduque. Paris, 1863.

Documentos Diplomaticos presentados por el Gobierno Español al Senado. —La Cuestion de Mexico en el Senado y Congreso Español. Mexico, 1863.

Derroteros Generales de los departementos del Imperio Mexicano presentados à la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadistica. Mexico, 1865.

Batalla del 5 de Mayo de 1862 en Puebla. Telegramas oficiales. Echenique (Rafael). Mexico, 1864.

El Dos de April de 1867. Edicion Especial. Por José Vicente Gomez y Adolfo E. de Moráles. Director, Luis de Moráles. Mexico, 1893.

La Corte de Roma y el Emperador Maximiliano. Relaciones de la Corte de Roma con el Gobierno Mexicano. Mexico, 1870. Ellorriga (Lorenzo).

Mexico y la Intervención. Elorriga (Francisco). Mexico, 1861.

Mexico Historico-Descriptivo; seguido de la Cronica Militar de la Expedicion Española. Madrid, 1862. Escalera (Evariste).

Manifesto sobre la Toma de Queretaro. Escobedo (Mariano). Zacatecas, 1889.

Los Guerrilleros del Valle de Mexico (Recuerdos del reinado de Maximiliano de Hapsburg). Madrid, 1880.

Comentarios sobre la cuestion de Mexico. Ferrer de Costo (José). Madrid, 1861.

Juarez Glorificado y la Intervención y el Imperio ante la Verdad historica. Frias y Seto (Hilarian). Mexico, 1895.

Mexico y los Estados Unidos durante la Intervención Francesa. Frias y Seto (Hilarion). Mexico, 1901.

La Intervención Francésa en la Républica de Mexico. Garcia Vargas (Miguel). Mexico, 1863.

Juarez o la Guerra de Mexico (Traducido por Agustin A. Nunez). Alfred Gassier. Mexico, 1886.

Sueno de Imperio. La Verdad de la expedición á Mexico segun documentos ineditos de Ernesto Louet, pagador en jefé del Cuerpe Expedicionario. Mexico, 1903.

Parte General que da al Supremo Gobierno de la Nación respecto de la Defensa de Zaragoza. Gonzales Ortega. Zacatecas, 1863.

Carta a José Zorrilla en Contestación á sus versos y comentario de un Loco que titule Drama del Alma e algo sobre Mexico y Maximiliano. Guadalajara y Cosio (Joaquin). Mexico, 1868.

Carta dirigidia al Exmo. Sr. Presidente de la República, sobre la necesidad de buscar en una Convención el posible remedie de los malos que aquejan á la República; y opiniones del autor acerca del mismo asunte. Gutierrez de Estrada (J.M.). Mexico, 1840.

Documentos relativos al ingrese y â la salida de la primera Secretaria de Estado de Republica Mexicana. Gutierrez de Estrada (José Maria). Mexico, 1855.

Mexico y el Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria. Gutierrez de Estrada (J.M.). Mexico, 1864.

In French

Les Renards, les Dindons et le Mexique. Arbelli. Bordeaux, 1863.

Révélations sur l'Intervention Française au Mexique de 1866 à 1867. Barreyrie (F. de la). Paris, 1868.

Histoire de la Guerre du Mexique. Bédollière (Émile de la). Paris, 1863.

Discours sur les Emprunts mexicains contractés en France, prononcés le 22 et le 25 juillet dans la discussion du Budget de 1868 au Corps Législatif. Berryer (M.). Paris, 1886.

Expédition du Mexique. Corps Législatif. Séance du 26 juin 1862. Billiaut (M.). Paris, 1862.

Expédition du Mexique 1861-1867; Récit Politique et Militaire; par G. Niox, Capitaine d'État Major. Paris, 1874.

Les Bivouacs de Veracruz à Mexico par un Zouave. Paris, 1865.

La Vérité sur la Révolution actuelle au Mexique. Canedo (Estanislas). Paris, 1860.

L'Armée Française au Mexique et l'Empereur Maximilien I. Castelli Paul ——). Puebla, 1864.

Ceremonial. [This book of the elaborate ceremonies in the Court of Napoleon III. was issued by the Emperor in 1862, and was the model of the 'Ceremonial' established by Maximilian and Charlotte later in Mexico.] Paris, 1862.

La Cour de Rome et l'Empereur Maximilien. Rapports de la Cour de Rome avec le gouvernement Mexicain, acompagnés de deux lettres de l'Empereur Maximilien et de l'Impératrice Charlotte. L. Detroyat. Paris, 1867.

Le Général Miguel Miramón. Notes sur l'Histoire du Mexique. Duran (Victor). Rome, 1886.

Histoire du Mexique, Juarez et Maximilien. Correspondances inédites des Présidents, Ministres et Généraux, de Juarez, de Maximilien et de Charlotte. Domeneck (E). Paris, 1868.

L'Empire Mexicain, la paix et les intérêts du Monde. Domeneck (J. Passama). Mexico, 1865.

Juarez: La Guerre de Mexique. Drame en cinq actes. Gassier (Alfred). Paris, 1886.

Fin d'Empire. Gaulot (Paul). Paris, 1890.

L'Empire de Maximilien. Gaulot (Paul). Paris, 1890.

L'Empereur Maximilien, son Élévation et sa Chute d'après des documents inédits. Leipzig, 1867; par Kératry (Le Comte Émile de).

Le Mexique et l'Intervention Européenne. Lefèvre (E. —). Mexico, 1862.

Solution de la Question Mexicaine. Malespine (A.). Paris, 1864.

Maximilien, Empereur du Mexique. Sa Vie, sa Mort, son Procès. Paris (no date).

La Question du Mexique devant les Cortes D'Espagne. Discours prononcés au Sénat et au Congrès par MM. Bernandez de Castro, Concha et Ries y Rosas. Paris, 1863.

Révélations sur l'occupation française au Mexique au point de vue financière. Bruxelles, 1869.

Le Mexique. Reus (Jean-Isidore).

Le Dies Irae du Mexique. Sèche (Léon). Paris, 1873.

Épilogue de la Divine Comédie. L'Enfer un coin du Paradis et incidemment une âme du Purgatoire. Séguier (Comte). Mexico, 1873.

Discours prononcés au Corps Législatif les 9 et 10 juillet 1867 sur le Mexique. Thiers (M.). Tours, 1867.

Discours sur L'Expédition du Mexique prononcés dans la discussion de l'adresse au Corps Législatif; séances des 26 et 27 janvier, 1864. Thiers (M.).

Récits de Guerre 1862-1867, les Français au Mexique. Thoumas (Gén.). Paris.

Lettres des Campagnes (1854-1867). Précédées d'une Notice biographique. Crimée, Italie, Mexique. Vanson (Général). Paris et Nancy.

Au Mexique, 1862. Combats et Retraite des Six Milles. Binesco (Prince Georges). Paris, 1887.

Le Mexique Illustré. Histoire et Géographie. Illustrations par Gustave Doré. Récit des événements militaires qui s'y sont passés jusqu'à ce jour, comprenant en outre l'Histoire et la Géographie illustrée des États-Unis. Malte-Brun. Paris, 1862.

Médaille Religieuse de l'Empereur Maximilien et de l'Impératrice du Mexique. Bruxelles, 1886.

Le Mexique au début du XXième Siècle (2 vols.). Bonaparte, Prince R. de, and Others. Paris, 1904.

In German

Erinnerungen aus Mexico: Geschichte der letzten zehn Monate des Kaiserreichs. Basch (Dr. S.). Leipzig, 1868.

Maximilian I., Kaiser von Mexico. Sein Leben, Wirken und sein Tod, nebst einem Abriss der Geschichte des Kaiserreichs. Hellwald, Wien, 1869.

Queretaro. Blätter aus meinem Tagebuch in Mexico. Nebst einem Auszuge aus dem Tagebuch der Prinzessin Agnes zu Salm-Salm, und Salm-Salm (Felix, Prinz zu) Stuttgart, 1858. (2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1869).

Das heutige Mexico. Land und Volk unter Spaniens Herrschaft, sowie nach erlangter Selbstaendigkeit. Armin (Th.). Leipzig, 1865.

Mexico. Laukrer (J.). Leipzig, 1908.

Mexico. Lembeke (H.) Berlin, 1900.

In Dutch

Keizer Maximilian, zijne Verheffing en zijn Val. Naar enuitgegeven documenten. Uit het fransch vertaald door J. C. Belinfante. Keratry (Graff Emile de). Amsterdam, 1867.

In Italian

Fatti accaduti nal Messico in seguito del Intervento Francese in riposta agli stimatissimi editori dell' Osservatore Romano. Roma, 1863.

In English

The Fall of Maximilian, late Emperor of Mexico; With an historical introduction, the events immediately preceding his acceptance of the crown, and a particular description of the causes which led to his execution. Chynoweth (W. Harris). London, 1872.

With the French in Mexico. Elton (J. F.). London, 1867.

Mexico under Maximilian. Flint (Henry M.). Philadelphia, 1867.

Mexico under Maximilian. Kendall (J. J.). London, 1871.

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, his Life and Death, his Trial, with various details hitherto unpublished. London, 1883.

Recollections of my Life, by Maximilian I., Emperor of Mexico. London, 1868; 3 vols.

From Empire to Republic. Nell (A. H.). Chicago, 1903.

My Diary in Mexico in 1867, including the last days of the Emperor Maximilian, with leaves from the Diary of Princess Agnes zu Salm-Salm. 2 vols. Salm-Salm (Prince Felix zu).

Ten years of my Life. 2 vols., Salm-Salm (Princess Agnes zu). London, 1875-1876.

Maximilian and Carlotta. A story of Imperialism. Taylor (John M.). New York, 1894.

The Republic of Mexico Restored. James White. Mexico, 1867.

Mexico of the Twentieth Century. Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S. London, 1907.

Roderick Taliaferro; a story of Maximilian's Empire, by George Cram Cook. New York, 1903.

The Court of Mexico, by the Countess Paula Kollonitz. London: Saunders, Otley and Co. 1868.

The Awakening of a Nation. Lummis (C. F.) New York: Harper, 1898.

Mexico. Carson (W. E.) New York and London: Macmillan, 1909.

Mexico. Enock, C. Reginald. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909.

Terry's Handbook for Mexico. London: Gay and Hancock, 1910.

The Mexican Year-Book. London: McCorquodale.

Mexico: a General Sketch. Washington, D. C., U.S.A. Pan-American Union, 1911.

Mexico. Baerlein, Henry. London: Herbert and Daniel, 1913.

New Trails in Mexico. Lumholtz (Carl). London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910.

Beyond the Mexican Sierras. Wallace (D.). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910.

Wanderings in Mexico. Gillpatrick (W). London: Eveleigh Nash. 1912.

In Indian Mexico. Starr (F.). Chicago: Forks and Co., 1908.

Old Mexico and Her Lost Provinces. Bishop (W. H.). London: Chatto and Windus, 1883.

Through Southern Mexico. Cadow (H.). London: Witherby and Co., Ltd., 1908.

INDEX

Abdicate, threat to, 266, 272, 273.
Abdul Asiz, 64.
Acambaro, 199.
Acambay, 312.
Acapulco, 203, 208.
Accion, La, 224.
Acultzingo, 109, 110.
Adams, Charles Francis, 426.
—— John Quincy, 415.
Aguascalientes, 201.
Aguilar, Condesa del, 235.
—— Ignacio, 125, 153.
Aguirre, Señora, 382.
Ajutla, 206.
Alatorre, 304.
Albert, Prince, 29, 39.
Albici, Commandant, 96.
Alden, Commodore James, 402.
Alexander, Emperor, 64.
Algeria, Bazaine in, 129.
Allègre, Captain, 93, 334.
Allies, 5, 6, 29, 70, 74, 82-6, 88-90, 363, 414, 426.
Allies' Manifesto, 77, 78.
Almonte, General, 87, 110, 113, 116, 123, 132, 134, 157, 163, 164, 184, 187, 231, 257, 264.
—— Señora D. Q. d', 179.
Alva, Duke of, 188, 365.
Alvarado, 203.
Alvarez, General, 103, 363.
—— —— d', 137.
Amealco, 312.
American War, 2, 216, 217.
Amozoc, 109, 110.
Anahuac, 16, 110.
Andráde, José Maria, 123.
Angelo, Colonel, 281.
Antonelli, Cardinal, 244-7, 260, 261.
Apartado, Marques del, 251.
Arango, Ignace, 334.
Arellano, Colonel, 303, 306.
Arenenburg, Château d', 44.
Argentina, 415.
Arguyes, Colonel, 187.
Arizona, 138, 417.
Army, French, 94-96, 97, 115, 117, 137, 209.
—— Mexican (Imperial), 97, 98, 111, 112, 118, 218.
—— —— (Liberal), 101, 108, 111, 112, 118.
Arnould, Arthur, 52.
Arozema, Major Carlos, 334.
Arreta, Colonel I. de, 334.
Arroyo, Luis de, 198.
Ars, Colonel de B. d', 96.
Arteaga, Doña A. M. de, 213.
—— General, 108, 212-14, 353, 425.
Aspirez, Colonel, 346.
—— Manuel, 349.
Atlixco, battle of, 117.
Aumale, Duc d', 129.
Austria, 22-4, 26.
—— court of, 21, 41, 64.
Austro-Belgian Brigade, 100.
Auvergne, Colonel d', 95.
Aymard, Colonel, 96, 202.
Ayotla, 234, 278.
Aztecs, 16, 166.

Bahnsen, Señor, 361, 382.
Bailly, Ensign Eugène, 341.
Banks, Major-General (U.S.A.), 139.
Barail, Colonel du, 96, 117, 392.
Barbarities, Mexican, 102, 202, 204, 307, 313, 337.
Baron and Forbes, 320.
Barranca Veca (Dry Gully), battle of, 110.
Barrio, Señora del, 234, 244, 247.
—— Marques del, 249, 251.
—— Felipe Neri del, 234, 251.
Barrío, Señora M. G. E. de, 179.
Barrot, M., 68.
Barthez, Dr. F., 62.
Basch, Dr., 305, 328, 342, 356, 387, 388.
Baudin, Admiral, 106.
Bautísta, San Juan, 202.
Bavaria, King of, 35.

Bavaria, Prince Otho of, 35.
Baz, General, 346.
Bazaine, General (Marshal), 12, 56, 95, 98, 99, 102, 115, 118, 119, 122, 123, 126; birth, 128; career, 128; in Algiers, 128; wins Legion of Honour Cross, 128; exploits in the Crimea, 129; in Lombardy, 130; wounded, 130; marriage, 131; arrival in Mexico, 132; quarrel with Church Party, 133; departure from capital, 133; return, 134; his forces, 137; relations with U.S. Government, 138, 166, 175, 178, 191, 192; relations with Maximilian, 196; visits Guanajuato, 199; attacks Guadalajara, 201, 205, 207, 211, 219, 225, 228, 229, 232, 264, 265, 267, 269, 271-73, 279, 282, 286, 288, 289, 290, 301, 310, 338, 352, 353, 424, 425.
—— Adolphe, 298, 299.
—— Señora, 178, 196, 272, 298, 299, 310.
Beatrice, Princess, 13.
Beauffort, Count Louis, 254.
Beaulieu, Baron de, 126.
Becerra, Major Félix, 334.
Béhie, Minister, 267.
Belgium, 22, 29, 426.
Belgo-Austrian Brigade, 100.
Benavides, 304.
Benecke, Stephen von, 320.
Berthier, General de, 96, 117, 199.
Berzabal, Francisco de P. A. y, 156.
Beust, Baron von, 388, 393.
Bigelow, John, 432, 433.
Billarderie, General de la, 50, 436.
Billault, M., 204.
Billot, General, 218.
Bismarck, Prince, 49, 55, 142, 416.
'Black Decree,' 213, 214, 314, 336, 339, 349, 352, 353, 364, 365, 424, 425, 447-51.
Blasio, José Luis, 234, 242, 250, 251, 305, 347, 356, 375.
Blount, Sir Edward, 48-51, 58, 59.
Bombelles, Count, 171, 183, 234, 251.
Bondholders, Mexican, 229.
Bonds, Jecker, 47, 49, 221, 222.
Bonnefons, M., 223.
Booth, 413.
Borragón, 2.
Bosse, Admiral, 163.
Bouchout, Château de, 254, 255.
Bouslaveck, Dr., 234, 251, 252.
Boyer, Napoleon, 281.
Bravo, 2.
Bravo, Filomeno, 2.
Brazos Santiago, 422.
Brian, General de, 219.
Brigade, Austro-Belgian, 100.
Brincourt, Colonel, 95, 214, 279.
Bringas, Señora L. R. de, 179.
British forces, 73, 93.
—— Legation, 84, 104.
Brownsville, 139, 140, 402, 405.
Bruat, Commandant, 93, 96, 120.
Buena Vista, 318.
—— —— Palace of, 196, 210.
Burial of Maximilian, 389.
Bustamente, President, 125.

Cabello, Ignacio, 334.
Cabos, Marcelino, 277, 278.
California, 399, 417.
Camargo, battle of, 219.
Campbell, Lewis D., 367, 398, 400-9.
Campeche, 149.
Campéro, Señora M. B. de, 179.
Campos, 190.
—— Francisco, 334.
Canal, Vega, 294.
Canary Islands, 162.
Candelaria, battle of, 205.
Candia (Crete), 36.
Canning, George, 416.
Canorgue, Colonel de la, 95.
Capuchinos, convent of, 10, 342, 350.
Caranova, General, 306.
Carbonera, La, 271.
Carmen, 118, 203.
Carranza, Juan A., 334.
Cassagnac, Paul de, 52.
Castagny, General de, 95, 102, 137, 199, 206, 211, 220.
Castellane, Maréchal, 51.
Castelnau, General de, 56, 227, 267, 286-8, 293.
Castillo, General Severo, 303, 306, 329, 411, 460.
—— Señor Martin, 234, 248, 249, 251.
Celaya, Garitta de, 306.
Ceremonials, court, 173-8.
Cerro de la Campaña, 305, 307, 308.
Cervantes, Calderon, 66, 67.
—— Señora S. V. de, 179.
César, Francisco de P., 451.
Chapultepec, 12, 103, 177, 183, 210, 225, 229, 269.
Charles v., 9.
Charles Louis, Archduke, 21, 157.
Charlotte, Empress, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18; birth, 35; parentage, 35-7; death of her mother, 38; Belgian

court life, 38; marriage, 39; critic, correspondent, conversationalist, 40; character, 42; at court of Austria, 42; departure for Mexico, 43, 154-7; departure from Miramar, 159; incidents of voyage, 161-4; arrival in Mexico, 167; court life, 171-8; suite, 179-181; daily life, 183; as regent, 184-93; journey to Yucatán, 185, 212, 228, 331; leaves for Europe, 232; arrival in Paris, 236; interview with Napoleon, 241; arrival at Rome, 243; interview with Pope, 246; becomes insane, 251; returns to Miramar, 253; retires to Bouchout, 255, 266, 272, 287, 310, 374-6, 384, 385, 389, 392, 397.
Charlotte, Princess of England, 35, 37.
Chartres, Duc de, 430.
Chihuahua, 208, 214, 218.
Cholula, battle of, 117.
Christina, Queen, 68.
Church, the, 9.
—— Lutheran, 39.
—— Roman Catholic, 39, 47, 53, 59, 132, 183, 190, 192, 257-65, 276, 277, 363, 364, 392.
Civita Vecchia, 161, 162.
Claveria, Pio Quinto, 334.
Clinchant, Colonel, 207.
Cloué, Captain, 215, 238.
Coahuila, State of, 206.
Coburg, 22.
Codrington, General, 162.
—— Miss, 162.
Colima, State of, 207.
Committee of Protection, 229.
Comonfort, General, 118.
—— President, 5, 103, 258, 363.
Comptoir d'Escompte, 194.
Conchado, 278.
Congress, Mexican, 110.
Constitution, 5th Feb. '57, 348, 423.
Convention of La Soledad, 86, Appendix II.
—— of London, 69, 90, 93, 198, 414, Appendix I.
—— of Miramar, 60, 158, 168, 196.
—— of 30 July 1866, 225.
Convento de la Campaña, 282.
Convent, Santa Teresita, 341, 343.
Corbin, Major, 95.
Cordoba, 86, 97, 164, 203, 236, 438, 440.
Corio, Marquis, 153.
Corona, Colonel, 138, 273, 304.
Corta, M., 221.
Cortiñas, General, 138, 139, 422.
Corwin, Thomas, 70, 126, 398, 401, 419, 420, 426, 430.
Cost of French Expedition, 299, 300.
Cottret, Commandant, 95, 220.
Court ceremonials, 173-8.
Court changes, 187.
Cousin, Commandant, 93.
Cox, Samuel S., 418, 419.
Crampton, Lord, 68.
Crédit Mobilier, 194.
Crimea, Bazaine in, 129.
Cross of Constancy, Order of, 172.
Cruelties, French, 102.
Cruz, convent of La, 309, 311, 322, 328, 329, 331, 333, 339, 340, 459, 460.
Cuba, 163.
Cuernavaca, 97, 285, 310.
Culiacán, 138.
Cumbres, La, 109.
Curtopassi, Signor Francisco, 385, 387, 396, 398, 411.
Customs, U.S. collector of, 138.
Czismadai, Major, 303.

Dandolo, frigate, 191, 272.
Danish War (1864), 46.
Dano, Minister, 99, 168, 230, 232, 286, 287, 302, 395.
David, Baron Jerome, 427.
Davidson, Nathaniel, 318.
Davis, Henry Winter, 418, 419.
—— Jefferson, 353, 425.
Day, Colonel M. (U.S.A.), 422.
Dayton, William L., 140, 418-20, 426, 429, 432.
'Decree, the Black,' 213, 214, 314, 336.
Degollado, Felipe, 249.
Derby, Lord, 69.
Diaries, 30.
Diaz, Felix ('El Chato'), 121, 278, 280.
—— General Felix, 170.
—— Porfirio, 1, 109, 121, 131, 137, 138, 168, 189, 208, 275; birth, 276; parentage, 276; in seminary, 276; joins army, 277; attacks Cabos; becomes captain, 278; colonel, 278; defends Oaxaca, 279; taken prisoner, 281; escapes, 283; charges of cruelty, 284, 298, 304, 313, 345, 359, 390, 411, 412, 425.
Doblado, Manuel, Minister, 85, 89, 136, 199, 202, 440.
Doblinger, Mathilde, 243, 246, 249, 250.
Dominguez, Bishop of Oaxaca, 276.

Douay, General, 94, 95, 102, 111, 117, 137, 199, 200, 210, 211.
Drouyn de l'Huys, M., 8, 48, 64, 122, 126, 140, 231, 232, 239, 242, 419, 433.
Dry Gully (Barranca Veca), battle of, 110.
Dunlop, Commodore H., 74, 76, 84, 88, 96, 116, 440.
Durango, Bishop of, 190.
—— city of, 211, 220, 266.
—— Governor of, 206.
Duvernois, Clement, 52.

Echegaray, Colonel, 281.
—— Major L., 334.
Elguerro, Señora D. G. de, 179.
Elizabeth, frigate, 369.
Eloin, M., 25, 411.
Elsesser, Luis, 48, 50.
Empress Elizabeth, 30, 33, 162, 393.
—— Eugénie, 33, 47; birth, 58; parentage, 58; responsibility for French intervention, 58, 59; relations with Napoleon, 60; as regent, 61; conduct to Charlotte, 62, 63; public disapproval, 64; responsibility for Maximilian's death, 65, 151, 240, 391-3.
Empress's Regiment, 310, 330, 459.
Escalante, Colonel M. V., 334.
Escamilla, Governor, 284.
Escandón, Alejandro A. y, 123.
—— Antonio, 125.
—— Señora C. B. de, 179.
Escape, plans for, 369-71.
Escobedo, General, 101, 108, 214, 219, 303, 304, 306-8, 330, 331, 333, 336, 338, 340-2, 346, 358-60, 376, 379, 381, 387, 398.
Escoto, Joaquin M., 349.
Escudero, Minister, 259, 260, 451.
Espinoza, General, 131.
Esteva, Minister, José Maria, 451.
—— Señor, 235.
Estrada, Señora de, 179, 234.
—— José M. G. de, 125, 145, 151, 153, 155, 156, 452, 453.
Ethics of war, 337.
Execution of Maximilian, 64, 378-384.
Exhibition, Paris (1867), 63, 64.
Expeditionary Corps, French, 93-6.
Expedition, French, 106.
—— —— cost of, 299, 300.

Favre, Jules, 204, 427.
Ferdinand the Catholic, 9.
—— i., 16.
Ferdinand v., 21.
Filibusters, U. S., 138, 215, 219, 280, 315.
Finances, Imperial, 99, 100, 102, 137, 144, 194-7, 221, 288, 289, 301, 320.
Fischer, Father Augustin, 10, 173, 188-92, 209, 272, 287, 290, 291, 293-5, 297, 320.
Flahault, Comte de, 69.
Flanders, Count Philippe of, 38, 68, 127, 251, 253, 254.
Forest, M., 385.
Fort Monroe, 353.
Forey, General (Marshal), 56, 94, 95, 102, 107, 113-17, 120-2, 125-7, 130, 133, 154, 155, 284.
France, 2, 6, 22, 69, 151.
Francis Charles, Prince, 16, 21.
—— Duke of Saxe-Coburg, 35.
—— Joseph, Emperor, 11, 14, 16, 21-23, 25-7, 33, 42, 59, 157, 160, 180, 375, 376, 392, 393, 396, 400.
French Expedition (1839), 106.
—— loans, 194, 195, 221-3, 225, 228, 229, 299, 426.
—— prisoners, 110.
Fresnille, 220.
Friant, M., 190, 224.
Frontana, Major C., 334.
Frossart, General, 155.

Galicia, 23.
Galvez, Colonel, 187.
Gambier, Colonel, 95.
Gárate, Dr. D. B., 264.
García, Colonel, 304, 334.
Garnier, Colonel, 96, 214.
Gaulfrerons, Captain Xavier, 341.
Gávis, Major de, 334.
Geoffroy, M. L. de, 139, 431.
George, Prince of Saxony, 40.
Geralt, Baron, 317.
Gerloni, Major, 303.
Germany, 29, 54.
Germiny, M. de, 194.
Gibraltar, 162.
Giraud, Colonel, 278, 279.
Giulay, 26.
Godardo, Major (Count de Pachta), 334.
Gomez, Father Tomás, 157.
Gonzales, Captain Antonio, 460.
Gonzalez, Colonel Pedro, 331, 334.
Gortschakoff, Prince, 432.
Gossmann, Lieut., 460.
Government, Provisional, 123.
Grant, General Ulysses, 216.
Gravière, Admiral Jurien de la, 72,

74, 75, 82, 84, 90, 95, 96, 115, 116, 440, 442.
Great Britain, 5, 6, 29, 70, 74, 82-6, 88-90, 151, 198.
Greece, 27.
Groeller, Captain von, 369, 371.
Guadalajara, 92, 201, 207, 273, 285.
—— plan of, 143.
Guadaloupe, 167.
—— Marquesa de, 235.
—— Order of, 158, 168, 171, 324, 327.
—— S. M. de, 164.
—— Treaty of, 399.
Guanajuato, 92, 101, 199-201.
Guardia Imperial, 310.
—— Palatina, 170, 234.
Guaymas, 206, 266.
Gueroult, A., 52.
Guerrero, State of, 285.
Guerrero, Vicente, 2, 5.
Gutierrez, Major Carlos, 334.
—— Miguel, 334.
Guyon, Lieut. Paul, 341.
Guzman, Manuel, 331, 332, 334.
Gwin, William M., 56.

HACIENDA DE LA TÉJA, 225, 226.
Ham, castle of, 45.
Hammerstein, Baron von, 303, 304, 314.
Hapsburg, House of, 9, 16, 22.
Hapsburg-Lothringen, 16.
Harvey, James E., Minister, 399.
Hasselt, 36.
Havana, 76, 96, 145, 402, 406.
Haymans, Mynheer, 268.
Health of troops, 108, 111, 112, 134, 201, 202, 203.
Hennique, Colonel, 93, 96.
Heraud, Lieut. Théodore, 341.
Herbet, M., 155, 158, 442, 444, 445, 447.
Herron, General, 139, 140.
Herzfeld, Count, 252.
Hidalgo, José Maria, 87, 125, 153.
Hill of the Bells, 343.
Holland, 29, 36, 44.
—— King of, 36, 44.
Hooricks, Frederick, Minister, 270, 318, 385, 395, 397.
Hope, Sir James, 162.
Horta, Colonel Antonio M. de, 334.
Hortense, Queen, 44, 50.
House of Representatives, Belgian, 269.
Howard, Jacob M., 6.
Huart, Baron d', 127.
Huasteca, 304.
Huerta, General, 120.
Hungary, 22, 23.
Hurbal, General C. d', 279.

IGLÉSIAS, ANGEL, 125, 157.
Immigration project, 423, 424.
Imperial finances, 99, 100, 102, 137, 144, 174, 182, 193, 194-7, 221, 288, 289, 301, 320.
—— Orders, 171, 397.
—— Palace, 165, 170, 184, 186.
—— Prince, 62.
Indians, condition of, 141, 142.
Inundation Tax, 232.
Isabella of Spain, 33, 66-8, 397.
Italy, 22.
—— King of, 397, 411.
Iturbide, Augustin, 2, 5, 124, 143, 168, 276.
Ixcapa, battle of, 277.
Ixtla, Puente de, 285.

JABLONSKY, COLONEL, 331, 332, 335, 459, 469.
Jalapa (Tehuantepec), 278.
—— (Vera Cruz), 83, 117, 167, 203, 439, 440.
Jalisco, State of, 201, 207, 213.
Jamaica, 162.
Jecker, 47, 48, 49.
Jiquilpan, battle of, 207.
Johnson, President, 367, 413, 428, 429.
Joinville, Prince de, 106, 107.
Jolivet, Colonel, 95.
Juan Francisco, 304.
Juana, Donna, 16.
Juarez, Benito, 2, 47, 56, 59, 74, 81, 85, 90-2, 103, 104, 109, 110, 125, 131, 135-7, 153, 196, 207, 210, 219, 258, 259, 269, 277, 286, 346, 357-8, 361-6, 373, 374, 388, 400, 403-5, 409, 410, 421-3, 440.
Jules, Signor, 384.
Jurado, Ignacio, 349.

KENDAL, DUKE OF, 36.
Kendall, Captain J. J., 100, 101, 294, 319.
Kératry, Count E. de, 104, 120, 154, 282, 366.
Khevenhüller, Colonel von, 303, 304, 314, 318.
Kieffers, Lieut. Felix, 341.
Kodolich, Colonel, 169, 318, 319, 460.
Koerner, Gustavus, 435.
Kollonitz, Countess Paula, 43, 155, 179, 180, 184.
Kulachevich, Señor, 234, 251.
—— Señora, 234, 251.

LABASTIDA, PELAGIO DE (Archbishop),

123, 131, 132, 153, 190, 257-9, 261, 263, 264, 288.
La Cañada, 110.
Lacroix, Colonel, 95.
Lacroma, Abbot of, 157.
La Cumbres, 109.
Lacunza, J. M. A. de, 99, 230.
Laeken, palace of, 35, 254.
La Garza, General, 206.
Lago, Baron von, 10, 25, 169, 180, 271, 318, 368, 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 381, 388, 396.
Lajaille, Major de, 95.
Lake, J. N., 147.
Lamoriuère, General, 129.
Lamy, Commandant, 95.
Landa y Escandón, Señora F., 179.
Langlais, M., 223.
Larès, Teodosio, 123, 190, 288-92, 295, 304, 312, 313, 353.
La Soledad, 85, 112, 164, 165.
—— Convention of, 86, Appendix II.
Latour, Count, 23.
Laumière, General V. de, 95.
Legoretta, 460.
Leipzig, 216.
Leon, 201.
—— General Jésus Diaz de, 340, 382.
—— J. V. de, 125, 157, 158, 187, 204, 246, 249, 252, 442, 444, 445, 447.
Leopold I., 13, 14, 29, 34; death of, 36, 68, 267, 270, 426.
—— II., 397.
—— of Saxe-Coburg, 35.
Lesseps, Count de, 29.
L'Hériller, General, 95, 206, 211.
Liberal Party, Belgian, 39.
Liberals, 18, 36, 47.
Liceaga, General, 303.
Licia, Dr., 387.
Limburg, 36.
L'Impératrice Eugénie, 237, 238.
Lincoln, President, 353, 366, 367, 413, 418, 428, 430.
Loans, French, 194, 195, 221, 222, 223, 225, 228, 229, 299, 426.
—— Jecker, 47, 49, 220, 222.
—— Papal, 59.
Lojero, Emilio, 349.
Lombardo-Venetia, 31, 160.
Lombards, 22.
Lombardy, 22.
—— bargain in, 130.
London, Convention of, 69, 90, 93, 198, 414, Appendix I.
Longchamps, Commandant L. de, 95.
Lopez, Colonel Miguel, 110, 167, 188, 299, 309-11, 327-35, 403; correspondence, 458-62.
Lorencez, General de, 55, 56, 73, 94, 102, 108-14, 116, 216.
Los Remedios, 118.
Losses, French, 71, 83, 109, 110, 112, 121, 127.
—— Mexican, 110, 112.
Louis of Bavaria, 24.
Louisa, sister, 168.
Louise-Marie, Queen, 37, 39, 154.
Louis Philippe, 35, 44, 392.
—— Victor, Archduke, 157.
Louvain, 36.
Lower California, 138.
Lozada, General, 203.
Lutheran Church, 39.
Luxembourg, 36.

MACMAHON, MARSHAL, 130.
Madeira, 28, 30, 162.
Madero, Francisco, 120.
Madrid, Colonel de la, 310.
Magenta, 14.
Magnus, Baron von, 355, 357, 360, 361, 367-70, 372, 373, 382, 388, 395-7, 411.
Maintenant, M. de, 99, 229, 230.
Malburg, Major E., 334.
Mallat, Captain, 93.
Mangin, Colonel, 95.
—— General, 280.
Manifesto, Allies', 77, 78.
Manzanillo, 207, 208.
Marcón, Colonel Manuel, 334.
Maria Theresa, 16.
Marie Antoinette, 33.
—— Princess, 37.
Marin, General Tomás, 237, 291.
—— Minister, 190, 353.
Marquez, Leonardo, 97, 109-11, 118, 119, 131, 188, 189, 199, 207, 285, 302, 304, 307, 311-15, 319, 324-6, 332, 360, 405.
Martinique, 162.
Maryland, 418, 419.
Mason and Slidell, 73.
Matamoras, 110, 206, 207, 214, 215, 219, 266, 402, 405.
Matehuala, 202.
Maximilian I., 16.
—— (Ferdinand), 5, 14-16; birth, 21; parentage, 21; early travels, 27; meeting with Charlotte, 29; marriage, 29; further travels, 31; governor of Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, 31; accepts crown, 151, 152; reception of delegates, 153; ceremony at Miramar, 154-8; departure from Miramar, 159; incidents of voyage, 161-4; establishes

orders, 171; travels in interior, 184; his appointments, 187; financial complications, 195; difficulties with Bazaine, 209; issues Black Decree, 212; appoints General Osmont and M. Friant, 224; effects economies, 225; learns of Charlotte's illness, 252; untenable position, 266; decides upon abdication, 266; withdraws same, 273; quarrels with Bazaine, 290; in Queretaro, 303-11; besieged, 322-39; in prison, 338-47; trial, 348-58; plans of escape, 368-72; execution, 378-384; funeral, 389.
Maximilian Joseph, 24.
—— Museum, 390.
Mazatlán, 206, 208, 266, 273.
Meglia, Monsignor, 192, 257-9, 261, 262.
Méjìa, General, 97, 131, 137, 187, 200-2, 214, 215, 219, 285, 302, 303, 306-8, 322, 324, 328, 342, 349, 350, 354, 355, 362, 369, 373, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386, 391.
Memorial Chapel, 390.
Mendez, Antonio, 338.
—— General Ramón, 212, 213, 285, 303, 306, 340, 353.
Mendoza, Colonel, 333.
—— General, 118.
Merit, Order of, 172.
Metternich, Princess, 155.
Mexican barbarities, 102, 202, 204, 307, 313.
—— debt, 48.
—— Eagle, Order of, 171, 307, 397.
—— prisoners, 119.
—— railway, 164, 300.
Mexico, Archbishop of, 123, 131, 132, 153, 190, 257-9, 261, 263, 264, 288.
—— city of, 12, 17, 25, 52, 73, 75, 85, 86, 120, 122, 127, 144, 165, 189, 199, 232, 234, 236, 261, 282, 285, 303, 310, 314, 318-20, 338, 339, 345, 359, 360, 367, 369, 381, 390, 391, 401, 403, 404, 408, 411, 412, 419, 430.
—— —— French enter, 123.
—— State of, 285.
Miahuatlan, 271, 275, 284.
Michoacán, State of, 208, 212, 285.
Middleton, Minister, C., 396, 398.
Miller, General (U.S.A), 138.
Milnes, Vice-Admiral, 72, 74.
Mirafuentes, General, 336, 355.
Miramar, 18, 31, 32, 34, 132, 153, 159, 160, 193, 251, 253, 254, 343.
Miramar, treaty of, 60, 158, 168, 196.
Miramón, Miguel, 47, 48, 56, 84, 85, 87, 103, 104, 131, 134, 153, 258, 285, 301-3, 306, 307, 310, 311, 323-6, 328, 330, 342, 349, 350, 352, 354, 362, 369, 373, 380, 382, 385, 387, 391, 392.
—— Señora, 386.
Miranda, Francisco, 125.
Mirandol, General, 96.
Mixtequilla, battle of, 278.
Moctezuma, 103, 183.
Monarchy, proclamation of, 124, 145.
Monier, M., 155.
Monroe Doctrine, 72, 139, 414-17, 427, 430.
—— Fort, 353.
—— President James, 414, 415.
Monterey, 136, 138, 207, 214, 219, 266, 269, 310, 313, 406.
Montéro, Major Manuel, 334.
—— Major Victorian, 334.
Montero, X. de Isturiz y, 67, 69, 436, 438.
Montesdeoca, Ignacio, 157.
Monthalon, Marquis de, 56, 126, 168, 186, 197, 317.
Montpensier, Duc de, 68.
—— Duchesse de, 68.
Moran, Señora G. C. de, 179.
Morélia, 199, 201, 334.
Morélos, 87.
Morny, Duc de, 46-51, 60, 61, 222.
Morphy, Tomás, 125.
Moustier, Marquis de, 57.
Mungen, William (U.S.A.), 149.

Napoleon i., 22.
—— Emperor (iii.), 5, 7, 8, 24, 27, 29; birth, 44, parentage, 44; education, 45; imprisonment, 45; his pamphlets, 45; Danish war, 46; relations with de Morny, 46, 47; intervention in Mexico, 48, 49, 50; personal responsibility for intervention, 53; relations with U.S. Government, 55, 151, 195, 198, 204, 211, 215, 224, 231, 238, 239, 240, 241, 266, 269, 273, 277, 282, 286, 293, 295, 297, 352, 363, 391-3, 400, 414, 416, 418, 427, 431, 432, 436.
—— Prince Jerome, 430.
National Museum, 165.
—— Palace, 170, 184.
Nava, Major José, 334.
Navarrete, Colonel Pedro, 334.
Navarro, Sanchez, 190.
—— Señora O. de S., 179.

Negrete, General, 108, 137, 138, 200, 206.
Neigre, General, 95, 102, 166.
Nemours, Duke of, 35.
Netherlands, 22.
New Mexico, 138, 399, 417.
New Orleans, 215, 402-5, 407.
Nicholas, Czar, 51.
Niel, Marshal, 130.
Nigra, Dr. Riva de, 387.
Nomel, Lieut. Victor, 341.
Noria de Custodio, 219.
Noriaga, General, 303.
Novara, 32, 161, 163, 253, 388.
Nuevo Leon, 135, 310.
Nuncio, Papal, 192, 257-9, 261, 262.

OAXACA, BISHOP OF, 276.
—— siege of, 121.
—— State of, 214.
—— town of, 121, 208, 271, 275, 276, 279, 280, 462.
Obscuras, Major Juan, 334.
Ohio, 407, 418, 419.
O'Horan, General, 189, 304, 312.
Oliphant, Laurence, 11.
Ollivier, M., 416.
Order of Merit, 171, 172.
Orders, Imperial, 171, 307.
Orizaba, 86, 89, 92, 110, 111, 112, 163, 164, 191, 203, 236, 266, 273, 286, 291, 296, 318, 438, 440.
Orleans, Duke of, 37.
Ormalchea, Juan B., 123.
Oroñas, Colonel, 275.
Ortega, Eulalio María, 349, 353, 374.
—— General, 111, 116, 118, 206.
—— General Jesus G., 136, 338, 422, 423.
—— Gonzales, 138.
—— Señor, 268.
Osmont, General, 190, 224, 295.
Otho, Prince of Bavaria, 35.
Otterbourg, Marcus, 408, 410-12.

PALACIOS, COLONEL MIGUEL, 356, 357, 370, 371, 386, 387.
—— Mariano Rivas, 349, 369, 374.
—— General Rivas, 212, 304.
—— General Vicente Rivas, 338, 343.
Palmar, 110.
Palmerston, Lord, 69, 74, 432.
Palo Alto, 2.
Pantheon, 342.
Papal Nuncio, 192, 257-9, 261, 262.
Paploré, Second-Lieut., 93.
Para, Señor, 346.
Paris, Charlotte in, 238.
—— Comte de, 430.
Paris Conference (1856), 38.
—— Exhibition (1867), 63, 64.
Paso-Ancho, 87, 439, 440.
—— del Macho, 236, 298.
—— de Ovejas, 87, 439, 440.
Patoni, General, 206.
Pavlowsky, Captain, 460.
Pavon, Ignacio, 123.
Paz, San Luis de la, 232.
Pedro v., King, 39.
Pejuin, Lieut. Emile, 341.
Pelissier, Marshal, 129.
Peña, Colonel La, 187, 285.
Peotilles, 266.
Peraz, Señora M. de, 179.
Peraza, Governor, 149.
Peredo, Juan Suarez, 250.
Perez, Major A., 334.
Perry, Horatio J., 68.
Persigny, M. de, 61.
Pessard, H., 52.
Peza, Juan de D., 146, 451.
Pezuela, Luis Roblés, 451.
Philip of Spain, 16.
Philippe of Flanders, 38, 68, 127, 251, 253, 254.
Piedra-Gorda, 200.
Pierren, Captain, 273.
Pierron, Edouard, 297.
Pius IX., Pope, 19, 161, 243-8, 250, 257, 260.
Plaizora, Señora M. de, 179.
Plumb, Edward Lee, 402, 408, 411.
Polak, Colonel, 271.
Poland, 22.
Poliakovitz, Montalba, 167.
Polk, President, 417.
Population, 141, 424.
Portugal, 22.
Potier, General de, 102, 212.
Pototski, Count, 323.
Pradillo, Colonel, 334.
Preil, Colonel du, 219.
Preña, Señorita de la, 210.
Prim, General (Count Reuss), 72, 76-80, 82-5, 88, 94, 96, 116, 440.
Prince Consort, 29, 39.
—— George of Saxony, 40.
—— Imperial, 62.
—— Regent, 35.
—— of Wales, 29.
Princess Royal, 29.
—— of Wales, 29.
Prisoners, French, 110, 275, 334.
—— Mexican, 110, 117-19, 201, 212, 219, 275, 282, 322, 431.
Proclamation of Empire, 124.
—— Santa Anna's, 145.
Provisional Government, 123.

Prussia, King of, 64, 316, 397.
Puebla, capture of, 119.
—— siege of, 73, 102, 109-12, 116.
—— second siege of, 117, 118, 120-22, 155.
—— third siege of, 313.
—— town of, 108, 138, 164, 168, 203, 234-36, 270, 279, 281, 282, 303.
Purga, 85.

Quecholac, 110.
Queretaro, 8, 19, 63, 64, 199, 201, 264, 285, 302, 303-6, 308, 309, 311-15, 318, 320, 339-58, 368-87, 404, 408.
—— Bishop of, 190, 375.
—— fall of, 329.
—— siege of, 322-38, 347, 458-62.
Quetzalcoatl, 17, 166.
Quigano, 310.
Quiroga, Lieut., 136.

Radetsky, 130.
Ramerez, Bishop, 249.
Ramirez, José Vicente, Minister, 261, 349, 451.
—— Major Juan, 334.
Rancho de las Jicacas, battle of, 278.
Randon, Marshal, 113.
Red Hussars, 318.
Regency of Empire, 124.
Regules, General, 212, 214.
Reichstadt, Duc de, 44, 45.
Reiner, Archduke, 160, 161.
Renegades, French, 340, 341.
Reuss, Count (Gen. Prim), 72, 76-80, 82-5, 88, 94, 96, 116, 440.
—— Countess, 86.
Revolutions, 1.
Ribera, Marquis de, 395.
Ricot, Lieut. Jean, 341.
Rincón, Colonel Pepi, 460.
—— Gallardo, Colonel, 303.
—— —— Señora Ana R. de, 179.
—— —— —— L. Q. de, 179.
Rio, Pablo M. del, 156.
Roblès, Colonel, 334.
—— Señora Rocha de, 179.
—— General, 425.
—— Señora L. B. de, 179.
Roe, Commander F. A. (U.S.N.), 148, 149.
Rojas, Major H., 334.
Roman Catholic Church, 39, 47, 53, 59, 132, 183, 190, 192, 257, 265, 276, 277, 363, 364, 392.
Rome, Charlotte in, 243-52.
Romero, Matias, Minister, 147, 376, 406, 422, 424, 431.
Rosada, 191.
Rothschild, Nathaniel, 318.
Rouher, Minister, 59, 222.
Rozeville, Captain Ernest de, 341.
Ruaton, 415.
Rudolph, Crown Prince, 42.
Rueda y Auza, Juan, 349.
Rumbold, Sir Horace, 26.
Russell, Lord John, 5, 48, 67-9, 73-5, 84, 88, 89, 426, 436, 438.
Russia, 22.

Saint Cloud, 61, 62, 239, 242, 243, 252, 266.
St. Leu, Duchesse de, 44.
Salas, General J. M., 123, 132, 134, 164, 257, 264.
—— Señora J. C. de, 179.
Salazar, General, 212, 213, 353, 425.
Salgado, Antonio, 332.
Saligny, Dubois de, 52, 53, 56, 67, 71, 72, 76, 83, 110, 111, 113, 126, 130, 440, 442.
Salm Salm, Prince Felix zu, 10, 11, 26, 172, 188, 315-8, 323, 324, 328, 329, 331, 334, 335, 344, 347, 357, 362, 367, 369, 371, 373, 376, 411; correspondence with Lopez, 458, 462.
—— —— Princess Agnes zu, 189, 317, 335, 341-3, 345-7, 357-9, 360-2, 367, 369, 371.
Saltillo, 138, 206, 219, 266.
San Andrés, 204.
—— Carlos, Order of, 171, 172.
Sanchez, Colonel Plato, 349.
San Cristóbal, 189.
Sanford, H. S., Minister, 268.
San Javier, 117.
—— Juan del Rio, 302.
—— Lorenzo, battle of, 118.
—— Loreta, 282.
—— Luis Potósi, 92, 125, 135, 187, 200, 201, 211, 219, 274, 285, 288, 335, 346, 347, 349, 356-60, 372, 373, 404, 406.
—— —— —— Bishop of, 288.
—— Pablo, 117.
Santa Anna, Antonio L. de, 2, 5, 134, 143-50, 172, 277, 310, 313, 363, 411; correspondence of, Appendix vi. (451-7), 461.
—— Clara, 282.
—— Inez, 117.
—— Isabel, battle of, 219.
—— Teresìta, convent of, 341, 343.
Saragossa, siege of, 120.
Sardinia, King of, 130.
Scarlett, Minister, 398.
Schmidt, Captain Charles, 341.

Schönbrunn, 21.
Scott, General Winfield, 103, 168, 399.
Secession, War of, 413.
Sepulveda, Major Ignacio, 334.
Seward, F. W., 421.
—— William H., 8, 70, 139, 140, 147, 149, 150, 376, 400-3, 405-9, 413, 414, 418-20, 422, 424-6, 429, 431-5.
Sherman, General (U.S.A.), 402, 422, 423.
Siliceo, Manuel, 451.
Sinaloa, 56, 282.
Slidell and Mason, 73.
Solferino, 14, 130.
Sonora, State of, 55, 56, 198, 206, 214, 273, 282, 352, 456.
Sophia of Bavaria, 21, 375, 376, 383.
Soria, Father, 379, 380-2.
Spain, 6, 22, 69, 76, 80, 198, 426.
—— Queen Isabella of, 33, 66-8, 397, 436.
Stanley, Edward H., 69.
Steedman, General J. D. (U.S.A.), 315.
Stéphanie, Princess, 40.
Suez Canal, 29.
Supreme Council, 124.
Sweden, King of, 397.

TACAMBARO, 212.
Tamaulipas, 138, 206, 214.
Tampico, 117, 203, 204, 214, 266, 402, 404.
Tapia, General, 112.
Tatham, captain of the, 84.
Tavera, General, 190, 291, 304, 353.
Taylor, General, 399.
Tegethoff, Admiral von, 388, 389, 411.
—— Count von, 389.
Tehuacán, 86, 204, 310, 438, 440.
Tehuantepec, 144, 277, 278.
Tejada, Lerdo de, 147, 388, 397, 402, 404, 409.
Tejeria, 84, 85.
Tenochtitlán, 17.
Teran, Jesus, Minister, 440.
—— Señora D. P. del H. y, 179.
Terrazas, General, 218.
Testard, Major, 275.
Texas, 138, 417.
Themis, frigate, 155, 161, 163.
Thiers, M., 8.
Thomasset, captain of the, 84.
Thouvenel, M., 48, 67, 71.
Thün, Count de, 98, 169, 284, 317.
Tobasco, State of, 202.
Toltecs, 16.
Tomalto, 164.
Torre, Martinez de la, 349, 369, 374.
Totimechuacán, 118, 120.
Tourre, Colonel, 205.
Trastorza, Colonel, 334.
Treaty (of 15 Nov. 1831), 36; commercial (Jan. 1860), 46; of Miramar, 60, 158, 168, 196; with Spain, 71; of La Soledad, 86; of London, 69, 90, 93, 198, 414; of Guadaloupe, 399.
Trial of Maximilian, 348-55.
Trieste, 11, 31, 161, 251, 253.
Tronin, Lieut. Emile, 341.
Troubetskoi, Princess, 51.
Tudos, 180, 305, 327, 381, 383.
Tulancingo, Bishop of, 123.
Tuxpan, 202, 203, 213, 266.

UGALDE, GENERAL, 205.
Ulloa, San Juan d', 106, 107, 367, 439, 440.
United States, 2, 7, 8, 55, 57, 73, 91, 126, 138, 139, 147, 148, 149, 150, 198, 202, 206, 207, 214, 268, 288, 289, 311, 315, 353, 394, 399, 402-408, 421-35.
United States filibusters, 138, 215, 219, 280, 315, 417, 424.
Uraza, Señora R. O. de, 179.
Uruaga, General, 82, 84, 85, 137, 200, 207.
Utah, 417.
Utrecht, Treaty of, 22.

VALDERREZ, COLONEL, 334.
Valdez, Colonel, 137, 306.
Valle, Count del, 234, 246, 248, 249-251.
Vallez, Señora C. L. de, 179.
Vasquez, Jesus María, 349, 374.
Vatican, 244, 247-50.
Venetia Lombardo, 25, 31, 160.
Vera Cruz, 2, 75, 76, 83, 84, 86, 106, 107, 111, 117, 120, 127, 144, 148, 162-7, 191, 195, 203, 225, 228, 232, 236-8, 262, 270, 296, 318, 371, 388, 389, 402, 406, 407, 439, 440.
—— —— State of, 285, 313.
Verastegui, José, 349.
Veráza, Major, 334.
Verna, Colonel Juan, 334.
Vialla, Colonel, 95.
Victoria, Queen, 13-15, 29, 35-7, 39, 394, 436.
Victorica, Major, 334.
Vidaurri, General, 135, 136, 311, 313, 318.

Vienna, siege of, 23.
Vilchis, Major, 334.
Villagran, Lucas, 349.
Villanuéva, Colonel, 11, 340, 358, 370, 371.
Ville, Marquise de, 155.
Virginia, U.S. steamer, 148, 149.
Vittoria, President, 276.
Vleeschouwer, Mynheer, 268.

Wagner, Baron von, 396.
Walewski, Count, 38, 66, 75.
War, Danish (1864), 46.
—— Franco-German (1870), 46.
—— with America, 2.
Washington, 406, 407, 409, 412, 422, 426, 427, 431, 432, 434.
Waterloo, 216.
Weitzel, General (U.S.A.), 214, 215.
White, John, 398, 404, 407.
Wickenburg, Count, 303.
Windischgrätz, Prince, 23.
Wolf, Commissary, 95.
Woll, General, 125, 157, 282.
Wood, Fernando (U.S.A.), 149.
Würtemburg, Princess of, 37.
Wycke, Sir Charles Lennox, 48, 72, 76, 84, 85, 88, 89, 440.
Wydenbrück, Baron de, 317.

Yucatán, State of, 149, 203.

Zaragoza, General, 83, 85, 108, 109, 111, 116, 163, 425.
Zacatecas, 101, 111, 116, 138, 201, 285, 301.
Zapata, José María, 334.
Zarco, Francisco, 224.
Zichy, Countesses, 155.
Zuloaga, President Felix, 103, 363.

Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico 132661
Author Martin, Percy Falcke
Title Maximilian in Mexico

HMex.B
M4645
.Ym

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not remove the card from this Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

Stephen Ter